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# THE JOURNAL

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# GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

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No. 1

### A Sanskrit Ms. from Tibet—Kamalasīla's Bhāvanā-krama

By Dr. E. Obermiller.

The reign of the King *Thi-sroñ-deu-tsen* (*Khri-sroñ-ldelhu-btsan*, VII century) represents a period of the greatest importance in the early history of Tibet in general and of the spread of Buddhism in that country in particular. The activity of the great *Sāntirakṣita* ("Ācārya Bodhisattva") and of *Padma-sambhava*, the selection of the first seven Buddhist monks of Tibetan origin (*sad-mi mi bdun*), the foundation of numerous sites of Buddhist learning in Tibet, and the intense literary activity of the Tibetan learned translators (*lo-taḥ-bo*)—*Pal-tseg* (*dPal-britsegs*) and others by whom a great number of Buddhist canonical and scientific works were rendered into Tibetan,—all this has been described by *Bu-ston* in his *History of Buddhism* and in other Tibetan historical works.

There is, however, one subject relating to the spread of Buddhism in *Thi-sroñ-deu-tsen's* reign, to which the Tibetan historian devotes his special attention and on which he dwells in detail. This is the strife between two parties into which the Buddhists of Tibet were at that time split. One of these parties consisted of the pupils and followers of *Ācārya Sāntirakṣita* who professed that form of *Mahāyāna*

Buddhism which was generally acknowledged in India and Nepal, viz. the teaching of the Path to Enlightenment through the practice of meditation connected with the dialectical analysis peculiar to the Mādhyamika school of the Buddhists and with the practice of the six Transcendental Virtues (*pāramitā*).

The leader of the other party was a Chinese teacher (*huo-shan* or *ho-shang*) known by the Sanskrit name Mahāyānadeva, who preached a doctrine of complete quietism and inactivity. According to him every kind of religious practice, the meditative exercises and all virtuous deeds as well were completely useless and even undesirable; the liberation from the bonds of phenomenal existence was to be attained merely through the complete cessation of every kind of thought and mental activity,—by abiding perpetually in a state analogous to sleep. Bu-ston<sup>1</sup> relates how this party grew very powerful and found numerous adherents among the Tibetans, how the followers of Śāntirakṣita suffered oppression from it, and how the king who was an adherent of Śāntirakṣita's system, invited Śāntirakṣita's pupil, the teacher Kamalaśīla in order to refute the incorrect teachings of the Chinese party. The dispute between Kamalaśīla and the Chinese Ho-shang in which the latter was defeated is described by Bu-ston<sup>2</sup> in detail. We read that the leading men of the two parties<sup>3</sup> assembled in the presence of the king, that the Ho-shang was the first to speak in favour of his theory of quietism and inactivity and was answered by Kamalaśīla who demonstrated all the absurdity of the theses maintained by the Ho-shang and showed that the teachings of such a kind were in conflict with the main principles of Buddhism and were conducive to the depreciation and rejection of the most essential features of the Buddhist Path to Enlightenment. We read

1 Cf. my Translation, Vol. II, p. 192.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 193.

3 Known by the Chinese names Tien-mün (sTon-mun, the party of the Ho-shang) and Tsen-mis (rTsen-mis, the adherents of Kamalaśīla).

further on how the chief adherents of Kamalaśīla<sup>1</sup> likewise refuted the theories of the Ho-shang, how the latter and his party acknowledged themselves vanquished and were expelled from Tibet by order of the king who prescribed to follow henceforth the Buddhist doctrines that were generally admitted,—the teaching of the six Virtues as regards religious practice and the Madhyamika system of Nāgārjuna as regards the theory.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the influence of the Chinese Ho-shang's teachings over the minds of the Tibetans suffered a complete defeat and with it perhaps some political influence of China.<sup>3</sup> This is certainly a most important event in the history of Tibetan Buddhism which has been duly appreciated by Bu-ston. It is therefore quite natural that we should be interested in finding out the sources of Bu-ston's historical record. But the text of Bu-ston's History which, as a rule, contains references to the works on the foundation of which it has been compiled, does not give us any information here. At the first glance the account of the controversy looks like the reproduction of an oral tradition and there is nothing that could make us conjecture the presence of a literary work upon which the record could have been founded. The following will show that it has now become possible to trace out this work, to compare with it the account given by Bu-ston and to ascertain its historical importance.

It will be most interesting to observe that our source is contained in the works of that very Ācārya Kamalaśīla who gained the victory in the controversy described by Bu-ston. The Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences at Leningrad possesses a small Sanskrit MS., a gift of the late Dalai Lama, which has been brought from Tibet by the Tshan-ñid Khambo (mtshan-ñid mkhan-po) Agvan (Nag-

1 Śrīghoṣa (Tib. dpal-dbyans) and Jñānendra (Tib. Ye śas-dban-po).

2 Henceforth the Madhyamika has become the predominant school in Tibet.

3 Kamalaśīla was subsequently murdered by the Ho-shang's adherents.

dban) Dorjeyin or Dorjeev, the Head Lama of the Buriat and the Kalmuk Buddhists. The said MS. consists of eight leaves, grey Tibetan paper, in Nepalese characters, very legible and correct, the number of mistakes being quite insignificant. The edges of the leaves are singed, but the damage is not considerable (usually not more than 3 or 4 letters are wanting from both sides). On the upper part of fol. 1 we have the title in Tibetan, in the running handwriting: *ka-ma-la-sū-las mdzad-pahi sgom-rim*. The colophon on fol. 8 runs: *Ācārya-Kamalaśīla-nibaddho Bhāvanā-kramah samāp-tah*. The title of the work is thus: *Bhāvanā-krama* (Tib. *sgom-rim*)—"the Process of Meditation," i.e., the teaching about the exercises of Yoga which are peculiar to the Path to Enlightenment of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Now in the Tangyut, MDO., Vol. XXX(A) we have the Tibetan translations of three works ascribed to Kamalaśīla, all bearing the same title *Bhāvanā-krama*. They follow one after the other and are distinguished as: *sgom-rim dah-po* = *Pūrvā-bhāvanā-krama* (fol. 22-45, Peking ed.), *sgom-rim bar-ba* = *Madhyama-bhāvanā-krama* (fol. 45-60), and *sgom-rim tha-ma* = *Āntya-bhāvanā-krama*<sup>1</sup> (fol. 60-84). Of these three, the last one represents the Tibetan version of our MS. with which it shows the most perfect correspondence, so that it becomes possible to restore all the defective parts of the MS. and correct the mistakes. The Tibetan translation has been carried out by the Lotsava Ye-śes-ade (Jñānaśena) with the assistance of the Paṇḍit Prajñāvarman. We have prepared an edition of both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan text of the *Bhāvanā-krama* which we intend to publish before long with a translation in English and a complete bilingual Index Verborum. It is not our purpose at present to dwell upon the principal subject-matter of the work which is the process of meditation consisting of mind-concentration or mental tranquility (*śamatha* = *śi-gnas*) and transcendental analysis (*vipaśyanā* = *lhag-mthor*).<sup>2</sup> Our aim is to show that the text

1 Or, as Cordier (p. 319) has it, —*Uttara-bhāvanā-krama*.

2 Cf. my "Doctrine of Prajñā-pāramitā", p. 17.

directly refers to the controversy between Kamalaśīla and the Chinese party which ended with the defeat of the latter and the cessation of its influence over the Buddhists of Tibet.

Now, on fol. 4 sqq. of the MS. we read: ("There are some) who adhere to the following point of view: Through the efficiency of good and bad deeds which are called forth by the constructive activity of the mind (*citta-vikalpa-samutthāpita-subhāśubha-karma-caṣaṇa*), the living beings migrate in the *Saṃsāra*, experiencing repeated births in heavenly and other states of existence—the fruit of their deeds. Those on the contrary who do not think of anything at all and commit no deeds become delivered from the *Saṃsāra*. Therefore (in order to attain Nirvāṇa) one must not think of anything. Neither ought one to practise charity and other virtues (since the virtuous deeds call forth further rebirths in the *Saṃsāra*, which, blissful though they be, still invariably bind one to Phenomenal Existence, but cannot bring about the complete liberation from the bonds of the Phenomenal World).<sup>1</sup> The practice of charity, etc., has been prescribed only with a view to the stupid ordinary people (*kecalam mūrkhā-janam adhikṛtya dānādi-kṛtsā-caryā nir-dīṣā*).

"Now, he who speaks in such a manner will come to reject the whole of the Mahāyānistic Doctrine. And, as the Great Vehicle is the foundation of all the Vehicles in general, its depreciation leads to the rejection of all the Vehicles (i.e., of all the main Buddhist teachings). Indeed, he who says that one must not think of anything whatsoever, will have to reject, deny or depreciate the Highest Wisdom, the essence of which is correct thorough-going analysis of the true state of things (*tathā hi na kīṃcid cintayitavyam itī bruvatā bhūta-pratyavekṣā-lakṣaṇā prajñā pratīkṣiptā bhavet*). And through the rejection of it the highest supermundane transcendental wisdom of the Saint is likewise rejected (*tat-pratīkṣepāl loṇatārā* pi *prajñā pratīkṣiptā bhavet*), the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bu-ston, *Transl.*, Vol. II, p. 193.

rejection of the latter in its turn leads to the rejection of the Omniscience in regard of all the aspects of existence (*sarva-ākāra-jñātā*) which is the final goal of the Mahāyānist. (All this must necessarily occur), since (all) true knowledge is founded upon correct thorough-going analysis, (the rejection of which renders all correct knowledge impossible)."

Thereafter the author condemns the depreciation of the practice of virtue, charity, etc. The virtuous acts of the Bodhisattva are the skillful means (*upāya*) which, in connection with the highest analytic wisdom, represent in sum the whole of the Mahāyānist Path. We have here quotations from the *Gayāśrīpa-sūtra*<sup>1</sup> and the *Tathāgata-guhyā-sūtra*.<sup>2</sup> The passage ends with a very vehement utterance: "Therefore the words of him who despises the Mahāyānist Doctrine, whose learning is defective, who is full of conceit regarding his own (incorrect) views, who does not pay the due respect to the wise, who has not mastered the rules prescribed in Buddha's Scripture, and who, himself morally ruined, brings others likewise to ruin,—these words, being infected by the poison of contradiction, violating Logic and Scripture, are like venomous food and ought to be cast away far off by every wise person who cares for his own benefit."

After that Kamalaśīla again speaks about the absurdity of the views according to which one has but to reject all mental activity in order to become delivered from *Samsāra*. "Indeed", he says, "he who depreciates the correct analysis of the true state of things, shall reject that most essential component element of Enlightenment which we call the perfect analysis of the elements of existence (*dharma-pravicayākhyam pradhānam eva bodhyangam*). And without the thorough-going analysis of the true state of things, how can the mind of the meditator (*Yogin*) who from time beginningless has become accustomed to a realistic conception of Matter and the other elements, how can it (all on a sudden) come to the state which is free from all constructive

1 Cf. Bu-ston, *Treasury*, Vol. I, p. 111.

thought (and which represents Nirvāṇa?)—*vinā ca bhūta-pratyavekṣayā yoginah katham anādi-kālabhyasta-rūpādi-bhāvāpḥiniceśasya cittam nirvikalpatām praviśati*). If it is said that one comes to this state by not recalling in memory any of the elements of existence and by not directing the mind upon them (*sarva-dharmeṣu asmṛty-amanasikāreṇa praviśati*), this will be incorrect. Indeed, without a thorough-going analysis of the true state of things, the cessation of recollection and mental activity regarding all the elements experienced by us, cannot be realized (*na hi vinā bhūta-pratyavekṣayā nubhūyamāneṣu api sarva-dharmeṣu asmṛtir-amanasikāro vā śakyate kartum*). If one thinks: I have not to recall in my mind these elements nor to direct my thoughts towards them,—and thus supposes to become trained in non-recollection and absence of mental activity,—this will really, as a matter of fact, be a most intense recollection and activity of the mind with regard to the said elements (*yadi ca nā mi dharmā mayā smartavyā nā pi manasi-kartavyā ity evam bhūcayann-asmṛtīmanasikārau teṣu bhāvayet tadā sūtarām eva te smṛtā manasi-kytāś ca syuh*).

"If it is said that the mere absence of recollection and mental activity represents the cessation of these two factors (which is the desired aim), then we shall ask: in what manner does this absence manifest itself? If we analyse the subject, (we come to the conclusion that) the state of liberation from all dialectical thought-construction cannot have for its cause a mere absence. If this were the case, we should make the absurd conclusion that a person in a swoon has attained (Nirvāṇa), the state where there is no constructive thought, inasmuch as recollection and mental activity do not exist with him (*saṁmūrcchitasya api smṛti-manasikārābhāvān nirvikalpalā-praveśa-prasaṅgaḥ*). As a matter of fact, the cessation of recollection, mental activity, (and of all dialectical thought-construction) is impossible without the analysis of the true state of things (*na ca bhūta-pratyavekṣām vinā anyā upāyo* sī *yena prakāreṇa asmṛty-amanasikārau kuryāt*).

"Moreover, without this thorough-going analysis, how can the non-substantiality, the absence of an independent

essence of the elements come to be cognized (*vinā bhūta-pratyavekṣayā nīḥvacabhācatā dharmāṇaṃ katham avagatā bhavet*)? The cognition of the elements as devoid of an essence of their own (i.e., of their Relativity) is impossible without the analysis of the elements. And, without the cognition of Non-substantiality, the removal of the Obscurations becomes impossible (*nā' pi vinā śūnyatā-prativedham āvaraṇa-prahāṇaṃ saṃbhavati*). Otherwise all living beings would be delivered (from the outset).

"Moreover, if owing to the want of memory or the stupidity of the meditator, recollection and mental activity do not manifest themselves, then, being completely stupid, how can (such a meditator) be called a true Yogin? In this case he who trains himself in the abolition of recollection and mental activity without analysing the true state of things will be merely accustomed to a state of torpor and apathy. Consequently, the light of true knowledge will be drawn far away (from such a person).

"But then let us suppose that (the meditator is neither deprived of memory nor stupid). In such a case how can he (all on a sudden) cease to remember and to think, without having analysed the true state of things? It is not proper to say that one does not recollect when one undoubtedly does so (just as it is absurd to maintain that) one does not perceive when one really does (*vinā bhūta-pratyavekṣayā na hi amarāṇa-eva na amaratī paśyann-eva na paśyati iti yuktaṃ abhidhātum*). And if one has become accustomed to expel all kinds of recollection and thoughts, how can the remembrance of the place of residence in a former birth and the other properties of a Buddha take their origin? (*aśmṛty-amanasikūṛḍbhyaśōcca katham pūrva-nivāsāṇuśmṛtyādi-buddha-dharmodayo bhavet*). There will be a contradiction! Indeed, a person who all the while has to do with cold objects which stand in direct opposition to the hot ones,<sup>1</sup> cannot experience the contact with something hot.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ngulgeṇāḍa*, p. 68 and Sicherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. II, p. 187.

Again, if with the Yogin who is merged in trance mental consciousness<sup>1</sup> does exist, then it must necessarily be based upon some object. Indeed, the ordinary worldlings<sup>2</sup> cannot all on a sudden become possessed of that objectless pure cognition (which is the exclusive property of a Saint). Suppose on the contrary that mental consciousness does not exist (with the meditator merged in trance).—But, how then will the non-substantiality of the elements be cognized? And by means of what antidote will it be possible to remove the obscuration of moral defilement (*kṣema ca pratipakṣeṇa kṣeṣāvaraṇaṃ prahiyeta*)? And moreover with an ordinary worldling, even with one who has attained the 4th degree of trance (*dhyāna*) the annihilation of the mental faculty is impossible.

“For all these reasons, if within the pale of the Highest Doctrine the absence of recollection and mental activity (regarding the objects of the Phenomenal World) is spoken of, it must be viewed as necessarily preceded by the correct analysis of the true state of things. It is only by applying this analysis (to everything cognizable) that it becomes (finally) possible to produce (the state of mind in which there is) no recollection and mental activity, not otherwise. Indeed, when the Yogin who investigates (the elements) by means of correct analytic wisdom (*nirūpayaṃ samyek-prajñayā yogi*) does not perceive any element of existence whatsoever in the present, past, and future as becoming really originated (*kālaśraye paramārthataḥ samutpannam na kaṃcid dharmam paśyati*), how can he (after having thus cognized their unreality) recall them in memory and direct the mind towards them? That which owing to its unreality in the present, past, and future is not perceived from the standpoint of ultimate reality,—how can it be remembered or thought of? Consequently (as the consideration of the reality of the separate entities is put an end to on the basis of their analysis which conveys the notion of their unreality),

1 *Mano-cijñāna*—*gīd-kyi nam-par śes-pa*.

2 *Prthagjana*—*so-soḥi sṅge-ba*.

one attains to the knowledge free from constructive thought, the pacification of all pluralism (*tato'sau sarva-propaṇico-paśamaṃ niruḥkalpaṃ jñānaṃ praviṣṭo bhavet*). By attaining to this knowledge he cognizes directly the principle of universal Non-substantiality (and Relativity which represents) the Absolute Truth. Through this cognition he throws off the nets of all false views (*prahīṇa-saḥaja-kudṛṣṭi-jālo bhavati*), and by taking recourse to the Highest Wisdom connected with skilful means, becomes proficient in the cognition of the 'Conventional' and the 'Absolute Reality.'

"Accordingly, by obtaining the wisdom free from the Obscurations, he realizes all the properties of a Buddha without exception (*ato' nūceroṇa-jñāna-lābhāt sarvāṃ eva buddha-dharmāṃ adhigacchati*). Therefore without the correct analysis of the true state of things the origination of right knowledge and the removal of the Obscurations are both impossible," etc., etc. (follow numerous quotations from canonical texts, as the *Samādhirāja*, *Ratnavegha*, *Samdhinirmocana*, etc.).

Now, if we compare with this passage the speech of Kamalaśīla, the reply given to the Ho-shang as rendered by Bu-ston in his History, we find that Bu-ston's version represents a literal reproduction of the text of the *Bhāvanā-krama* which is only slightly condensed.<sup>1</sup> It is thus quite clear that Bu-ston has used the *Bhāvanā-krama* as a source and we can only wonder at the accuracy and precision with which he has rendered it. Just as in the account of the first two Councils of the Buddhist Congregation where Bu-ston faithfully reproduces the version of the *Vinaya-kudraka* without indicating his source, in the same manner here, in communicating a most important event in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, he bases his account upon a source, the title of which is nowhere mentioned by him, and which

1. *Samayti-satya* = *kan-rdoṣ-b-ldes-pa*.

2. We have given above the Sanskrit original of the passages given by Bu-ston. See *Transl.*, Vol. II, pp. 193, 194.

now discloses itself as the work of Kamalaśīla, the principal personage connected with the said event.

On the other hand we must equally point to the importance of Bu-ston's History for the due appreciation of Kamalaśīla's work. From the text of the *Bhāvanā-krama* alone it would never have been possible to make out who was actually the opponent refuted by the author. We could have been able only to ascertain that the opponent was one who favoured a teaching of complete inactivity. Nowhere, throughout the whole of the work, do we find the slightest reference to China and Tibet,—very typical for an Indian Paṇḍit who does not like to mention his adversaries directly. It is Bu-ston's History from which we get full information as concerns the polemic contained in the *Bhāvanā-krama*. Bu-ston thus enables us to appreciate the work of Kamalaśīla and makes it appear to us as it really is,—an important document relating to the history of Tibetan Buddhism.



## Decline and fall of the Sailendra Empire\*

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

The long-drawn struggle with the Colas which continued throughout the eleventh century A. D. and at one time threatened utter destruction to the Sailendras, ended in a draw.

After fruitless efforts of a century, the Colas finally abandoned the impossible enterprise of maintaining their suzerainty over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Sailendra kingdom, exhausted and humiliated as it was, slowly recovered its former position.

But although we can definitely trace the existence of the kingdom for nearly three centuries more when it was finally destroyed, the Sailendra dynasty passes from our view. After the beginning of the twelfth century A. D. we hear no more of that powerful ruling family that dominated Malaysia since the end of the eighth century A. D. This does not, of course, mean that they vanished or even ceased to reign, but only that we do not possess any definite information of them. For all we know, they might still continue to rule over the kingdom.

The continuity of the kingdom is, however, clearly attested by the Chinese and perhaps also Arab accounts, which still refer to the prowess of San Fo-tai and Zābag.

The Chinese annals refer to two embassies from San Fo-tai in the twelfth century A. D.

In the year 1156 king Si-li-ma-ha-la-sha (Śrī Mahārāja) sent envoys to bring tribute. The emperor said, "When distant people feel themselves attracted by our civilising influence, their discernment must be praised. It is therefore

\* Continued from Vol. I, p. 91.

that I rejoice in it, but not because I want to benefit by product of their country."<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1178 they sent again envoys to bring as tribute products of the country. On this occasion the emperor issued an edict ordering that they should not come to court any more, but make an establishment at Chuan-chou in the province of Fukien.<sup>2</sup>

According to Ma-Twan-Lin the ambassadors of 1178 reported that their king had succeeded his father in A. D. 1169. So the emperor invested the new king with all the titles and privileges of his ancestors and made suitable presents.<sup>3</sup>

The Arab writers Edrisi (1154 A. D.) Kazwini (A. D. 1203-1283), Ibn Sald (1208 or 1214 to 1274 or 1286 A. D.), and Dimaski (c. 1325 A. D.) all refer to the glory and power of Zābag.<sup>4</sup> But it is difficult to say whether they write from their own personal knowledge or merely quote from old writers, as many others expressly have done. But in any case the Chinese accounts definitely prove the existence of the kingdom.

Fortunately we possess an interesting account of the extent of this kingdom in the twelfth century A. D. from the Chinese work *Chu-fan-chi* ("Records of foreign nations"). The author of this work is Chau-Ju-Kua, Inspector of Foreign Trade in Fukien.<sup>5</sup>

As to the date of this Chinese author Hirth and Rockhill conclude from a remark the author makes in his chapter on Baghdad, that the work was composed between 1242 and 1258 A. D.<sup>6</sup> Pelliot has, however, shown that the author

1 Groeneweldt—*Notes*, p. 67. Both Groeneweldt and Ferrand (*J.A.*, 11-XX, p. 22) render the name as *Makūšja*.

2 Groeneweldt—*Notes*, p. 67. 3 Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 2.

4 Ferrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-74.

5 Chau-Ju-Kua—His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries entitled *Chu-fan-chi*. Translated by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, (1912).

6 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

wrote the preface to his work in 1225 A. D.<sup>1</sup> We must, therefore, hold that the work was originally written in or about 1225 A. D., although additions and alterations might possibly have been made during the next twenty-five years.

M. Coëdès holds the view that Chau-Ju-kua's account of San Fo-tai is almost entirely based on an earlier work Ling-Wai-tai-ta, written in 1178 A. D., and as such the picture which he draws can only be regarded as true of the period anterior to 1178 A. D.<sup>2</sup> There does not appear to be any valid reason for this assumption. Hirth and Rockhill are definitely of opinion that Chau-Ju-Kua's account of San-Fo-tai is "based exclusively on oral information furnished to the author by Chinese and foreign traders."<sup>3</sup>

As we shall see later, some details given by Chau-Ju-Kua (e.g., the inclusion of Ceylon as a dependency of San Fo-tai) can only be explained if we assume the date proposed above.

In any case we can take Chau-Ju-Kua's account as a correct picture of the state of things in the twelfth century A. D. Now according to this Chinese author, San Fo-tai was master of the straits of Malacca and thus controlled the maritime trade between China and the western countries. San Fo-tai itself was a great centre of trade, and fifteen states were dependent upon it. These are<sup>4</sup>

1. Pūng-fōng (= Pahang).
2. Tōng-ya-nōng (= Trengganu).
3. Ling-ya-sū-kia (= Lengkamuka).

1 *T'oung Pao*, Ser. II, Vol. XIII, p. 449.

2 *B.K.J.*, 1927, p. 460.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

4 The identifications of names given within brackets are on the authority of Fernand (*op. cit.*, pp. 13-14) and Krom, *Geschiedenis* (pp. 303-4).

On Nos. 3, 6 and 9, see discussions above. Vol. I, pp. 78-79 of this Journal. According to S. Lévi, Nos. 7 and 8 must be looked for in the Malay Peninsula (*Études Asiatiques*, vol. II, pp. 108-9), but Schlegel (*T'oung Pao*, Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 135) and Gerini (*Researches*, p. 627), place them in Sumatra. The identification of No. 5 is on the authority of Gerini (*Researches*, p. 825).

4. Ki-lan-tan (=Kelantan).
5. Fo-lo-an (=Beranang on the Langat river, west coast of Malay Peninsula).
6. Ji-lo-t'ing (=Jelotong on the east (?) coast of Malay Peninsula).
7. Ta'ien-mai.
8. Pa-ta.
9. Tan-ma-ling (=Tamralinga or Ligor in Malay Peninsula).
10. Kia-lo-hi (=Grahijaya, south of the Bay of Bandon).
11. Pa-lin-fong (=Palembang).
12. Sin-to (=Sunda).
13. Kien-pi (=Kampe or Kampar).
14. Lan-wu-li (=Lamsri = Atjeh).
15. Si-lan (=Ceylon).

In addition to the general list of countries subject to San Fo-tsi, as given above, Chau-ju-kua has given separate accounts of Ling-ya-tsi-kia, Tan-ma-ling, Fo-lo-an, Sin-to, Kien-pi, Lan-wu-li and Si-lan.<sup>1</sup> Among these, the first two and the last had their own kings, but they sent tributes to San Fo-tsi. No king is mentioned in connection with Fo-lo-an, but the author remarks, "It sends yearly tribute to San Fo-tsi. Its neighbours P'ong-f'ong, T'ong-ya-nung and Ki-lan-tan are like it." According to Ling-wai-tai-ta the chief of Fo-lo-an was appointed from San Fo-tsi. This may be true of all the four states.<sup>2</sup> As regards Sin-to Chau-ju-kua says: "As, however, there is no regular government in this country, the people are given to brigandage, on which account foreign traders rarely go there." About Kien-pi we are told, "Formerly it was a dependency of San Fo-tsi, but, after a fight, it set up a king of its own." Nothing is said about the political status of Lan-wu-li, in the very brief note which Chau-ju-kua gives more as an introduction to his account of Si-lan, than as an independent account of that

1. *Chau-ju-kua*, pp. 67-73.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 69, n. 1.

kingdom. It would thus appear that Kien-pi had recently shaken off the yoke of San Fo-tai, but the other fourteen states were tributary to the power. In spite of a few uncertainties, the identification of these vassal states, as given above, would indicate that the empire of San Fo-tai included territories in Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula.

M. Cordès has attempted to show that although the empire is called by the old name of San Fo-tai, the seat of the empire was now transferred from San Fo-tai to Malaya or Jambi.<sup>1</sup> His principal argument is that Chau-Ju-Kua included Palembang among the dependencies of San Fo-tai, and as San Fo-tai is identical with Palembang, the seat of the empire must be at a place different from Palembang or San Fo-tai. He rightly points out that while describing the empire of Java or Cambodge Chau-Ju-Kua never includes these names among the list of their vassal states. But Cordès' argument, as we have indicated above, only discounts the view that San Fo-tai is identical with Palembang. The absence of Malaya from the list of vassal states merely indicates that Malaya was no longer dependent on San Fo-tai. But neither the inclusion of Palembang nor the exclusion of Malaya gives us any right to maintain, in the face of the express statement of Chau-Ju-Kua about San Fo-tai, that that kingdom had yielded its place of pre-eminence to Malaya.

M. Cordès seeks to support his view by reference to the Jaiya inscription dated 1184 A.D. which refers to Mahārāja Śrīmat-Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhūṣaṇa-varma-deva and his governor of Grahi, Mahāsenāpati Galanai. Cordès argues that if in 1183 A.D. the name of a king of Malayu appears in a record of Jaiya, it simply means that "Malayu had substituted its own authority in place of Śrīvijaya (sic) over the petty states of the Malay Peninsula."<sup>2</sup>

1 *B.K.I.*, 1927, 459 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 469. The Jaiya inscription was originally edited by M. Cordès (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XVIII, No. 6, pp. 34-5), but the date was wrongly read.

But it is a mere gratuitous assumption that Trailokya-raja-mauli-bhūṣaṇa-varma-deva is a king of Malayu. Cordès evidently relies on the fact that an inscription found at Padang Rocho in Batanghari district in Jambi, refers to a king named Mahārāja Śrīmat-Tribhuvanarāja-Maulivarma-deva, as ruling in 1286 A.D.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the resemblance in the names of the two kings, who lived a century apart, it would obviously be absurd to regard the royal name as a monopoly of Malayu, and, in the absence of any other evidence, to take the earlier king also as a ruler of Malayu, although his records have been found in Malay Peninsula alone. We must remember that the Śailendra emperors also bore names like Cūḍāmaṇi-Varmadeva.

Further, Edrisi (1154 A.D.) clearly says that the king of Kalah Zabag and the neighbouring islands lived in the city of Kalah which is clearly the Kaṭāha of Cola records.<sup>2</sup>

There is thus no reason to disregard the evidence of Arab and Chinese writers that the old kingdom of Zabag or San Fo-tai continued in its old glory and splendour till the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Jaiya inscription has perhaps furnished us with the name of the only individual emperor of San Fo-tai of the 12th century A.D. known to us. For as Grahi has been identified with Chau-Ju-Kua's Kia-lo hi, it was a dependent state of San Fo-tai towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century A.D. The king whose dominions included Grahi as a Governor's province in 1183 A.D. may not therefore, unreasonably be regarded as a king of San Fo-tai. It would thus be more proper to regard the Mahārāja Śrīmat-Trailokya-raja-mauli-bhūṣaṇa-varma-deva as a successor of Cūḍāmaṇi-Varmadeva, though it is difficult to say whether he belonged to the same family.

Chau-Ju-Kua's account of the great power of San Fo-tai is corroborated by an independent evidence. About the time when he wrote his book, we come across the name of a king

1 Fazzand, (op. cit., p. 179).

2 Cf. my article in B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XXXIII, p. 131.

Candrabbānu in an inscription at Jaiya, dated 1230 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Coedès has established beyond all doubt that this king Candrabbānu is referred to in the Ceylonese Chronicles as having led two expeditions against Ceylon.

The detailed account as given in Cullavamsa may be summarised as follows.<sup>2</sup>

"In the eleventh year of the reign of king Parākramabāhu II a king of Jāvaka, called Candrabbānu, landed with an army at Kakkhata, on the pretext that they were Buddhists and therefore came on a peaceful mission. The soldiers of Jāvaka, who used poisoned arrows, treacherously occupied the passages across the rivers, and, having defeated all those who opposed them, devastated the whole of Ceylon. But the regent Viravāhu defeated them in several battles and forced them to withdraw from the land. A few years later king Candrabbānu again landed at Mahātīrtha and his army was, on this occasion, reinforced by a large number of Pāṇḍya, Cola and other Tamil soldiers. After some initial successes the Jāvaka army was surrounded and completely defeated by the Ceylonese troops under Vijayabāhu and Viravāhu. King Candrabbānu somehow fled with his life, leaving behind his family and treasures in the hands of the victorious enemy."

The date of these events has been variously interpreted. But Coedès has established on good authority that the two invasions of Candrabbānu took place in A.D. 1236 and 1256.<sup>3</sup>

1 Edited by M. Coedès (B.E.F.E.O., XVII, No. 6, p. 32).

2 Cullavamsa, I, c., the later continuation of Mahāvamsa—ed. Geiger, Chap. 83, vv. 36-48; Chap. 88, vv. 62-75. The king of Jāvaka mentioned in the passage was taken by Kern to refer to a Javanese king (V.G. III, pp. 27 ff.), but he is now usually taken as a king of Srivijaya. For a more detailed discussion of the proposed identification cf. B.E.F.E.O., XXXIII, (pp. 133 ff.).

3 B.K.I., 1927, pp. 459 ff. Coedès has shown that the date usually assigned to the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1240-1279) should be pushed back by 15 years. He would thus have ruled from 1215 to 1260 A.D. Coedès further points out that the account of Cullavamsa is corroborated by the Pali work *Jinakūḷa-mālinī*.

Now the inclusion of Ceylon, among the vassal states of San Fo-tai has been justly regarded as the most surprising of all, for although Masudi, in his 'Meadow of Gold' (10th century A.D.) refers to the Mahārāja of Zābag as king of Sirandīb of Ceylon<sup>1</sup> there is no historical evidence to show that Ceylon was a vassal state of the Sailendras.

But even in this respect, perhaps, on the face of it, the least credible of all, Chau-Ju-Kua's account is corroborated to a certain extent by the passage of Cullavarṇṇa quoted above. For the Ceylonese author admits in a way the triumph of the Jāvaka army sometime in 1236 A.D., before Chau-Ju-Kua concluded his work.

It is obvious that Candrabhānu's invasion of Ceylon was an act of extreme imprudence and had the most regrettable consequences. The two expeditions to the distant island must have taxed the strength of the Jāvaka kingdom to the utmost, and the disastrous end of the second expedition weakened her prestige and authority beyond recovery.

In an inscription, dated 1264 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> Jātāvarman Virapāṇḍya claims to have defeated and killed the Sāvaka king, and in another inscription, dated the next year,<sup>3</sup> he includes the king of Kaḍāra among the host of rulers conquered by him. Sāvaka is no doubt the same as Jāvaka and we can easily take the defeat of the kings of Sāvaka and Kaḍāra to refer to a defeat of one and the same king, as in the case of Rājendra Cola. Thus the ill-advised expedition to Ceylon by the king of Kaḍāra was followed at no distant date by his humiliating defeat and death at the hands of the Pāṇḍya king.

The fact that the Pāṇḍya king boasts also of having conquered Ceylon, seems to connect the Ceylonese expedition of Candrabhānu with his defeat and death at the hands of Jātāvarman. It may be recalled that during his second ex-

1 Ferriand—*Textes*, p. 93.

2 *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1917, Ins. No. 588, pp. 50, 111.

3 *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 39, p. 72.

pedition against that island, Candrabhānu was helped by troops from Cola and Pāṇḍya countries. Perhaps he made an alliance with these two powers and organised a joint expedition against Ceylon. But like many other similar allied expeditions, it was dissolved on the failure of the project, and then Vira Pāṇḍya presumably took advantage of the helpless situation of Candrabhānu and turned against him. It is also quite likely that he betrayed first his two allies and then the king of Ceylon, who was temporarily saved by his first betrayal. This would explain the statement in the inscription of 1264 A.D. that Vira Pāṇḍya "was pleased to take the Cola country, Ceylon, and the crown and the crowned head of Śāvaka." In other words he turned against both his allies and defeated them and ended by conquering Ceylon which was their common objective. This view seems more reasonable than that a regular naval expedition was sent by the Pāṇḍya king against Kaṭāra or Śāvaka.

Candrabhānu who thus met with a tragic end was the last great ruler of the mighty kingdom founded by the Śailendras. The fact that he is styled the Śāvaka king and king of Kaṭāra, and felt powerful enough to send two military expeditions to Ceylon discounts the view of Cordès referred to above, that Malayu had established its supremacy over the petty states of Malay Peninsula, which once acknowledged the suzerainty of San Fo-tsi or Zābag. On the whole, the available evidence would justify us in regarding the last-named kingdom as continuing in power and glory till the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.

In the Jaiya inscription, Candrabhānu is said to have been born in the family of lotus. He is also called Lord of Tāmbraliṅga. It is almost certain, therefore, that he did not belong to the family of the Śailendras. Chau-ju-kua describes Tāmbraliṅga as a vassal state of San Fo-tsi having a separate ruler. It would thus appear that Candrabhānu had usurped the authority of his overlord by a successful rebellion. We have seen above that Kien-pi, another vassal state in Sumatra, had also successfully rebelled against

San Fo-tsi about the same time. Thus the disruption of the empire of San Fo-tsi both in Sumatra as well as in Malay Peninsula set in at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

The catastrophic end of Candrabhānu completed the disruption and gave a unique opportunity to the Javanese king Krtanagara to extend his authority over the dominions of the Sailendras. He conquered Pahang in Malay Peninsula which was a vassal state of San Fo-tsi. He also sent an expedition against Malayu (Jambi) in 1275 A.D., and converted it into a separate state under his own authority. The Padang Rocho inscription of 1286 A.D., referred to above, clearly shows that the new kingdom extended far into the interior and its king Śrīmat-Tribhuvanarāja-Maulivarmadeva regarded himself as a vassal of Mahārājādhirāja Krtanagara. Thus Java planted important outposts in the very heart of the empire of San Fo-tsi from which it could gradually extend its power and authority in all directions.

For the time being, however, these calculations were upset by the tragic end of Krtanagara and the fall of his kingdom. The Javanese army of occupation was withdrawn from Malayu, and therewith the Javanese authority vanished from the land. But San Fo-tsi which was not strong enough to resist the Javanese encroachments was yet too weak to take advantage of this opportunity to re-assert its authority over Malayu. Malayu remained an independent kingdom and soon became a powerful rival of San Fo-tsi.

The fact is that San Fo-tsi had not only to reckon with the growing menace from the side of Java, but also to contend with another great military power, the Thai, who had conquered Siam and were extending their power towards Malay Peninsula. The rise of the Thais of Sukhodaya was an epoch-making event in the history of Indo-China. Towards the close the the thirteenth century A.D. they had conquered the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. We know from the inscription of king Rāma Gamheng of Sukhodaya, dated 1292 A.D., that Śrī Dharmarāja of Ligor, one of the vassal states of San Fo-tsi, had

already been conquered by the king of Siam.<sup>1</sup> Thus hemmed in between the rising power of the Thais in the north and the growing kingdom of Malayu in the south, the discomfiture of San Fo-tai was complete. She lost her position of supremacy and sank into a local power. Henceforth her possessions in the Malay Peninsula formed a bone of contention between Malayu and Siam.

San Fo-tai continued this inglorious existence for nearly a century. Wang-ta-yuen (1349 A.D.) refers to its king as a local ruler, and says nothing of the great power and splendour of the Mahārāja.<sup>2</sup> The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (1365 A.D.) includes Palembang among the list of vassal states of Java, and the Chinese accounts refer to the conquest of San Fo-tai by Java sometime before 1377 A.D. According to the History of the Ming Dynasty<sup>3</sup> the Chinese emperor sent an envoy in 1370 A.D. "to command the presence of this country, and in the next year (1371 A.D.) the king, who was called Mahārāja Prabhu sent envoys with tribute and a letter written on a golden leaf."<sup>4</sup>

By the year 1373 A.D. San Fo-tai was divided into three states and their rulers, named Tan-ma-sa-na-ho, Ma-na-ha-pan-lin-pang,<sup>5</sup> and Seng-ka-liet-yu-lan<sup>6</sup> sent envoys with tribute to the imperial court respectively in 1373, 1374 and 1375 A.D.

In the year 1376 A.D. king Tan-ma-sa-na-ho died and his son Ma-la-cha-wa-li succeeded him. In 1377 A.D. he sent tribute to the emperor and asked permission of the imperial court to ascend the throne. This interference of China in the affairs of a vassal state caused the just resentment of the Javanese who had conquered San Fo-tai. They

1 *Cardin—Inscriptions de Sukhodaga* (1924) pp. 37-48.

2 *T'oung Pao* (16) 1915, pp. 61-69.

3 *Genèvevelds—Notes*, pp. 68 ff.; Ferrand, *J.A.*, (1-XX) (1922) pp. 24 ff.

4 Ferrand (*op. cit.*) restores this name as Mahārāja-Palembang.

5 Ferrand (*op. cit.*) suggests that this king is identical with the minister sent by Java to the Imperial Court in 1325 and 1332 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 25, n. 2).

waylaid and killed the imperial envoys who were bringing to Ma-la-cha-wa-li the seal and commission of the king of San Fo-tai.

Thus there can be no doubt that Java now exercised an effective authority over the kingdom of San Fo-tai which was hopelessly divided and sank gradually into insignificance. The Chinese historian pathetically remarks, "After this occurrence San Fo-tai became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country any more."

During the next twenty-five years the destruction of San Fo-tai was completed. Its condition in 1379 A.D. is thus described in the History of the Ming Dynasty:—

"At that time Java had completely conquered San-bo-tsai and changed its name to Kiu-Kiang.<sup>1</sup> When San-bo-tsai went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land. For this reason, the local Chinese residents stood up for themselves and elected as their chief a man from Nan-hai in Canton, called Liang Tau Ming, who had lived there a long time and roamed over the sea, and who had the support of several thousand men from Fu-kien and Canton."

In other words, a Chinese pirate set himself up as overlord in a part at least of what was once the flourishing kingdom of the Sailendras. This was no doubt due to the weakness of Java. Java was able to destroy the old kingdom but could not build up a new one in its place. Krom even goes so far as to think, that the destruction of San Fo-tai was a deliberate act on the part of Java. In order to wipe off from the face of the earth a power that had been in the past, and might be in future, a great rival in political and economic spheres, she intentionally and systematically

<sup>1</sup> Kiu-Kiang is the Chinese name for Palembang up to the present day (*Groeneveldt's Notes*, p. 71, n. 1), but cannot be taken as equivalent to San Fo-tai. It must have denoted only a part of that kingdom. I have discussed this point in an article in *B.E.F.E.O.*, vol. XXIII, p. 135.

laid waste the country, which afterwards became a stronghold of Chinese adventurers.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. San Fo-tsi passes from our view. One or more Chinese adventurers establish authority in that hapless land from time to time, but their history and intercourse with the imperial court, described in detail in the History of the Ming Dynasty, is outside the scope of this essay.

In conclusion we may refer to Kaḍāra. If we are right in identifying it with Keddah we may refer to Keddah Annals (*Hikayat Marong Mahāvamsa*) for the seven Hindu rulers of the State before the last one adopted Islam in 1474 A.D.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> R. O. Winsted—*History of Kedah* (J. Str. Br. R. A. S., No. 81, p. 29).

## The Sallendravamsa

By Dr. J. Przyluski \*

The *Mahāsaṃsa-sūta* describes the city of Kuśāvati, the fabulous residence of an ancient universal monarch in the following terms:—"The Capital Kuśāvati, O Ānanda, was surrounded by seven enclosures: one of the enclosures was made of gold, one of silver, one of beryl, one of crystal, one of ruby, one of coral, and one of all jewels."<sup>1</sup>

Another redaction of the *Mahāsaṃsa-sūta*, inserted in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, equally attributes seven enclosures to the city of Kuśāvati. But these are made of four precious substances alone, viz., gold, silver, beryl and crystal.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the series of seven jewels reappears in a text of the Mahāśāṃghika school. The *Mahāvastu* contains a detailed description of Dipavati, capital of the Cakravartin Arcimat. This town has seven enclosures covered with gold, to which are added "seven *vedikūṭāḥ*, brilliant and beautiful, of seven colours, namely those of gold, silver, mother-of-pearl, beryl, crystal, coral and ruby."<sup>3</sup> We could imagine each enclosure to have been built on a base covered with gold and surmounted by an open cloister-wall (*vedikūṭa*) analogous to the railings surrounding the Buddhist *stūpas*.<sup>4</sup>

As Kirtel has already observed,<sup>5</sup> the city of the Cakravartin inevitably recalls Ecbatana, of which seven enclosures

\* Translated by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal.

1 *Dighanikāy.* II, p. 170.

2 *Tripitaka*, Tokyo edition, XVII, 2, p. 80v; *Dalvi*, Peking edition, XI, f. 250b, Black edition, XI, f. 392b.

3 *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 194 l. 3 and 1920.

4 Cf. *La ville de Cakravartin. Influences babyloniennes sur la civilisation de l'Inde*, in *BO*, Vol. V (1927), p. 179 and 180.

5 *Die Kosmographie der Indier*, p. 35 ff.

according to tradition, were of diverse colours, those of gold, silver, orange, blue, purple, black and white.<sup>1</sup> Ecbatana connects itself, besides, at once with the Mesopotamian and Indian cities. In fact, we know that the city of Uruk passed for being surrounded by seven walls. It was, besides, designated by the same ideogram as the rainbow, which corresponds to the celestial spheres and the planets.<sup>2</sup>

The relation between the planets, the colours and the precious substances is a distinctive feature of Babylonian astrology. These correspondences have again determined the decoration of the *Zikkurata*, which, with their central temple and with their coloured storeys occasionally numbering seven, form somewhat the copy of the city of seven terraces like Uruk and Ecbatana. According to a cuneiform tablet, deciphered by P. Scheil, the seventh and the last storey of the tower of Babylon was variegated like the seventh enclosure of Kusāveti after the description of the *Pāli sūtra*. Apart from the two first colours (*viz.*, those of gold and silver), which are common to the Indian, Iranian and Mesopotamian series, the list of colours is far from being constant in the Semitic series. One need not be surprised at the disagreement which is presented by the other texts.<sup>3</sup>

The residence of the Indian Cakravartin like that of the Babylonian monarch, is made after the model of the terraced towers surmounted by a temple. The universal monarch resides there because being like the sovereign of the gods, he must live like him at the summit of the cosmic mountain. Sumeru and the *Zikkurat*, the imperial city and the celestial temple, might be juxtaposed as equivalent symbols in the political and the religious order.<sup>4</sup>

1 Herodotus, I, 98.

2 A. Jeremias, *Altorientalische Geisteskultur*, p. 31.

3 For other analogies between the residence of the Cakravartin and the Mesopotamian cities, cf. *La ville de Cakravartin*, p. 181 and 182.

4 Simultaneously with my researches upon the relation between the *Zikkurat* and the city of the Cakravartin, Drs. W. F. Stutterheim and C. L. Faber have studied the influence of the *Zikkurat* upon Indian art in

These notions once admitted, the question presents itself:—"Is it always the same mountain, which is the prototype \*of the imperial city in the countries of Indian civilisation?"

In the 17th *Avadāna* of the *Dīpāvadāna*,<sup>1</sup> the Cakravartin Māndhātā crosses the seven mountain ranges, which form the boundary of Sumeru and installs himself on the summit at the residence of the thirty-three gods.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that according to the redactions of the Buddhist text, the city of the Cakravartin must be after the model of the Śakra Devendra. Just as the Indra of gods resides on the summit of Sumeru, the Indra of men must live on this mountain, or at least possess a reduced model of the same.

Let us transfer ourselves to the Śivaite milieu. We must *a priori* expect a transposition of these notions: the Sumeru will be replaced by Kailāsa<sup>3</sup> or at least the mountain of the Cakravartin will be considered as the residence of Śiva.

The Indian colonies and India itself furnish numerous examples of royal cities designated by one of the names of Śiva, which indicates the idea that the residence of the Cakravartin was considered at the same time as the residence of Maheśvara. I shall only cite a single example, because it will be useful for understanding what follows.

general and upon the steps in particular. An exposition and an enlargement of these views will be found in the very important work of M. P. Ma, in course of publication: *Berakuder in BEFEO*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 324 ff.

1 This *avadāna* forms part of the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Cf. *Duśsa*, II, f. 327; it is in *Tibetan Tales* by Ralston after Schiefelr., story No. 1. There are two Chinese translations of this text: (a) Tokyo, VI, 6 (Cf. *Chavannes, Cinq cent. Contes*, No. 40); (b) Tokyo, XVII, 2, p. 75a. A much shorter redaction of this *avadāna* is *Jātaka* No. 258. Cf. besides *Bodhisattva-avadānakalpavṛkṣa*, No. 4. and *Mahābhārata* III, 126.

2 *śaṅga mūrdhni devānām trayastriṅśānām Sudarśanam nāma nagaram, Dīpāva*, p. 218.

3 In speaking here of Kailāsa, I do not wish to assert that the cosmic mountain was called after this name. Some other terms such as *Hemādri*, *Svarṇādri* etc. could have equally signified the divine mountain considered as the abode of Śiva, since the cosmic mountain Kailāsa or Meru is a mountain of gold.

Modifying an hypothesis of Gerini, M. L. Finot proposed in 1911 to recognise in the name Fu-nan (ancient *b'u nam*) a transcription of the Khm̐r *unam* (modern *phnom*) signifying a mountain.<sup>1</sup> In 1927 he suggested that the expression employed by the Chinese historians 'king of the country of Fu-nan' must correspond to an indigenous title *kurun unam* 'king of the mountain.' In fact the inscription of Han-wei calls the king of Fu-nan *parvatabhūpāla*.<sup>2</sup>

We might discuss this point to find out whether such expressions as *kurun unam* and *parvatabhūpāla* should be translated as 'king of the mountains' or otherwise. But this discussion which would draw us rather far is not necessary here. What concerns us for the moment is to ascertain if the sacred mountain, which was the holy place of the kings of Fu-nan, was the residence of Indra or Śiva. Now we find indication of this in the Chinese accounts, which expressly mention a magical mountain where there was a sanctuary of Maheśvara.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore probable that the kings of Fu-nan possessed a mountain which was a reduced model of the one where Maheśvara sat on his throne.

In a recent article of this Journal,<sup>4</sup> M. Cordès has tried to demonstrate that the kings of Fu-nan bore the title of 'Śailarāja'. We find, on the other hand, a Śailendra dynasty in Indonesia. M. Cordès builds the following hypothesis on this analogy: 'The Chinese annalists tell us that the kings of Fu-nan were compelled to emigrate more to the south to the town of Na-fu-na where they vegetated perhaps till the end of the seventh century. Now, it was in

1 *BCAI*, 1911, p. 29.

2 *JA*, Vol. 219 (1927), p. 186.

3 When the monk Nāgasena was sent to China by Jayavarman king of Fu-nan, in 484 A.D., the greatest wonder that he narrated was that there was in that kingdom a mountain called Mutan, where the god Maheśvara descended without ceasing and where the plants never withered. (*BEFEO.*, III, 260).

4 *JGIS*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59.

the first part of the following century that there appeared in Java, the founder of the dynasty of Mataram, to which belonged the donor of Kalasan, Rakai Panangkaran, 'ornament of the Sailendra dynasty'. Must we suppose that these Javanese kings claimed to be the descendants, or the inheritors of whatsoever title of the Sailarāja of Fu-nan? One fact seems to justify this hypothesis. The accession of the Sailendras of Java in the 8th century coincides with this obscure period in the history of Cambodia, during which the Chinese historians inform us that the country was split up in twain, and the Arab geographers relate that the khmér country had troubles with Zābug and was compelled finally to accept its suzerainty.

"These facts accord well enough with the hypothesis that the descendants, real or fictitious, of the emperors of Fu-nan after having carved out a dominion in Java in the first part of the 8th century afterwards tried to claim back their ancient possessions."

I propose to show that this thesis which is based upon some conjectures does not exclude other possibilities. There is nothing to prove that the Indonesian Sailendras belonged originally to Fu-nan. If, as M. Cœdès admits, the title 'Sailendra' signifies 'king of the mountain', a Cakravartin, possessing anyhow a sacred mountain could be called 'Sailendra', and no inference can be drawn from the fact, that this title would be common to the Cakravartin of Fu-nan and of Indonesia. The last fact itself is very doubtful. To establish this fact, M. Cœdès relies upon the following passage in the inscription of Kuk Práh Kot:—

"*Śrīśānavarmā nīpatiḥ prajñaratatīkasaṃśrayaḥ  
Yo ātī krāntabhūvanas = Sailanījasamunnatiḥ.*"

This verse appears simply to signify that king Śānvarman after traversing the earth became superior to the other

[ The word Cakravartin, it is true, does not always indicate the sovereign of a very extensive kingdom. The Indo-Chinese and Indonesian kings have always abused the Indian title. In the same way, in modern times the king of Annam did not hesitate to assume the same title as the emperor of China.

kings in the same manner as Himālaya is superior to the other mountains.<sup>1</sup> None of the alleged facts appears capable of supporting the inference of M. Cordès, viz., that "the Śailendras of Java claimed connection with ancient Fu-nan."<sup>2</sup> Before framing a historical hypothesis on the use of the title 'Śailendra', it is proper to seek its exact significance first of all.

Generally speaking, by principle the great Indian dynasties have at their beginning a divine or supernatural origin. In the epics Śūryavarṇa and Somavarṇa signify the royal lines descended from the Sun or the Moon. In Indonesia and in Indo-China the dynasties often have a nāgī for their ancestor.<sup>3</sup> Śūrya and Soma are varṇa-*karas* like the nāgī. Since Indonesian epigraphy mentions a Śailendravarṇa, if the question is asked, what is here the varṇa-*kara*?—the answer necessarily is: the 'Śailendra' and it is already understood that the Śailendra must be a divine personage. In the epics and elsewhere Śiva is called Gīṛṇa and this term is synonymous with 'Śailendra'. It may, therefore, be presumed that Śailendra, the divine ancestor of the Śailendravarṇa, is one of the forms of the god Śiva.

If this explanation is correct, no inference can be drawn from the fact that in two distinct lands two dynasties have borne the same name. That these kings were called 'Śailendra', 'Śailarāja' or otherwise, is no doubt instructive for the history of beliefs and of culture. But we cannot draw from it any conclusion concerning the historical origin of these dynasties.

But are we justified in admitting the equation Śailendra

1 Prof. L. Finot writes to me:—"Your interpretation of the *śloka* of the inscription of Kuk prihi ket is the more admissible, as it seems to be an echo of a verse from *Raghuvamśa*. *Raghu.*, I, 14,—"sthitha suranmatanorajam āntāṁ Meru (rāmaṁ)"

2 *JGIS*, Vol. I, p. 69.

3 J. Przyłuski, *La Princesse à l'odeur de poisson et le nāgī dans les traditions de l'Asie Orientale*, in *Études Asiatiques*, published on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1925, p. 265-284.

=Śiva? Why did not the Indonesians, if they wished to designate Śiva, choose one of his usual names? When celebrated names such as 'Mahadeva' and 'Maheśvara' were open to them, why did they prefer an equivalent of 'Giriśa', which could be confounded with the name of Himavat, called also 'Sailendra'? The answer to this question must be sought for in Indonesian mythology.

The Bataks inhabit the north-western half of the island of Sumatra. In their cosmology the universe is divided into three worlds: at the top, the world of gods; in the middle, the earth, where men live; at the bottom, the world of souls and of demons. The greatest god is Batara guru; his kingdom is on high; his residence is called Bandjar dolok, 'City of the Mountain'; his daughter Sideak parudjar is celebrated for her achievements; it is she who has created the world.<sup>1</sup>

Under his Indian name the Batara guru of the Bataks is probably an old Indonesian deity. Indeed he corresponds to the spirit Tan-vien of the Annamites, who is called the God of mountains, because he is the god of the highest mountain. The Indian equivalent of this god is Himavat, also called Sailendra, whose daughter is the mighty Pārvati. Himavat is the 'king of mountains' because he is the god of the highest mountain. This is how the facts could be represented. When the inhabitants of Sumatra were converted to Hinduism and gave Indian names to their deities, the king of mountains became 'Bhaṭṭāra guru', that is to say, he was identified with Śiva-Rudra, who dwells in a mountain since the Vedic period. As 'king of mountains' he was qualified to take the title of 'Sailendra' and the Bandjar dolok must have been regarded as the residence of the god who dwells on Kailāsa.

In later times under the influence of Mahāyānist beliefs, Śiva was confounded with the supreme Buddha under the

<sup>1</sup> J. Warnock, *Die Religion der Batak*, pp. 45 and 26. Warnock holds that before Batara guru the Bataks worshipped a creator-god called Mula-djedi, but this hypothesis is contestable.

name of 'Bhaṭṭāra-Buddha'. In the Tantric treatise *Saṅg hyang Kamahādyanīkan*, partially written in Old-Javanese, diverse entities are interspersed between Bhaṭṭāra-Buddha and Dhyāni-Buddha, and so the former appears as a sort of Ādi-Buddha.<sup>1</sup> In the *Kuṅṣeraḥaraṇa*, an identification is effected between Śiva and Buddha. Buddhapada is described as the dwelling-place of Mahādeva and the five Dhyāni-Buddhas are brought on a par with the Śivaite Kuṣikas, who are reported to say: "We are Śiva, we are Buddha". Homage is frequently offered to Vairocana with the words "Namo Bhaṭṭāra namaḥ Śivāya". The *Sutasoma* says "God Buddha differs not from Śiva the king of gods."<sup>2</sup>

In short, we discern under the religious elements furnished by Mahāyāna Buddhism the ancient belief in a deity enthroned upon a high mountain, to whom therefore properly belongs the title of 'Sailendra' and who has been successively identified with Śiva Girīśa and the supreme Buddha. It is he, probably, that was represented at the summit of Barabudur.<sup>3</sup> It is from him finally that the Sailendravarṇśa derives its origin, and that is why the Great King (Mahārāja) has the same nature as the Great God (Mahādeva). These traditions have persisted during the centuries. In the Pararaton, king Kṛtānagara is described as Śiva-Buddha and, according to the testimony of the *Nāgarakṛtīgama* (43/5), he died in the Śivabuddhaloka.<sup>4</sup>

It is known from diverse sources that the kings of the Sailendra dynasty bore the title of Mahārāja. This title

<sup>1</sup> Stutterheim, *Tjandi Barabudur*, pp. 34-55.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N. J. Krom, *Barabudur*, II, p. 301. The facts which prove the identification of Śiva with the supreme Buddha have been collected by Mr. Himansu Bhushan Sarkar in a recent note in *Indian Culture*, (Oct. 1934, pp. 284-286).

<sup>3</sup> In my view the numerous authors who have written upon Barabudur have all exaggerated the importance of the Buddhist element, while neglecting the Śivaite and properly Indonesian beliefs.

<sup>4</sup> Himansu Bhushan Sarkar, *Indian Culture*, Oct. 1934, p. 285.

seems at first sight to be banal enough, but if we replace it in history, it carries a significance which the simple etymology does not permit us to guess. Inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period contain three titles—*mahārāja*, *rājātirāja* and *devaputra*. Only the late Ārā inscription adds a fourth title, which Prof. Lüders read as *kaśāra*, and this reading which is doubted by M. S. Lévi<sup>1</sup> is supported by M. S. Konow. However, it is the title *Mahārāja* which concerns us here and its reading is not doubtful.

"Professor Lüders," writes Sten Konow, "has drawn attention to the fact that the titles used in the inscription find a kind of commentary in the ancient notion about four emperors, the 'sons of heaven' of China, India, the Roman Empire and the Yüe Chi, as they are styled in Chinese translations of Buddhist works. The tradition about the four 'sons of heaven' has been examined by Professor Pelliot, who shows that it was known over a large area at an early date. If it is of Indian origin, we should expect the arrangement of the four kingdoms to be India, Iran, China and the Roman Empire, and such an arrangement is clearly reflected in the titles of our inscription, where *mahārāja* is the Indian, *rājātirāja* the Iranian, *devaputra* the Chinese, and *kaśāra* the Roman title."<sup>2</sup>

Thus in the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period *mahārāja* has a particular value. It forms part of a series of three or four titles which confers upon its possessor the imperial dignity and probably the suzerainty over three or four regions. Among these regions it seems that the south corresponds to the *Mahārāja*. In assuming this title he perhaps pretended to claim the imperial authority over the South.<sup>3</sup>

1 *J.A.*, Vol. 124 (1934) p. 17.

2 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, part I, p. 163. On the notion of the four empires, cf. P. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1923, p. 97 ff and J. Przyluski, *Le symbolisme du pilier de Samath*, in *Mélanges Linossier*, p. 495 ff.

3 In the account of the Arab traveller Sulayman (i.e. Feriḥ), we read that "Kalkh-bār forms part of the empire of Jāwaga (i.e. the empire of the *Mahārāja*) which is situated to the south of India."

It is the more interesting to notice that in an unfortunately obscure passage of the inscription of Ligor (Face B), there is perhaps opposed to the Mahārāja of Sailendravarṣa, a Viṣṇuīte king (because he is called Viṣṇu) who has the title of *rājādhirāja* corresponding, according to the theory of Prof. Lüders, to the region of the West.

It seems that at the end of the first millennium the title *Mahārāja* still preserved the prestige which it enjoyed at the time of the Yüe-Chi. At the beginning of the same era, *Mahārāja* seems to signify the sovereign of the southern *dvīpa*, that is of Jambu-dvīpa. It is the same title which the kings of the Sailendra dynasty have retaken; but without doubt at this epoch there was added to the same a Śivaite nuance. *Mahārāja* in the world of men is what *Mahādeva* is in the world of gods, and it is because he traces his lineage to *Mahādeva*, that the king is *Mahārāja*. The relation of these two notions can thus be made to throw light on the following passage of the inscription of Ligor rectified by M. P. Mus and often quoted:—

*'Sailendravarmāprabha[va]nigadateḥ śrīmahārājanāma'*

We can now understand that the king bore the title of Śrī Mahārāja, because he must have been invoked on account of his divine origin. He was a king of the Sailendravarṣa and this is why he was addressed in the tone of a prayer (*nigada*) and was called Śrī Mahārāja.<sup>1</sup>

In partially accounting for the use of the titles Sailendra and Mahārāja through a Śivaite influence, are we not placing ourselves in contradiction to the historic data, which prove the expansion of Mahāyāna Buddhism under these kings? Certainly not: since from the beginning, Indonesian Mahāyānism is strongly tainted with Hinduism, as is proved notably by the inscription of Kelurak, where it is said that "Mañjuvāś contains all gods,—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara." A royal title could persist in spite of the changes of religion. In the West the pagan title of Caesar has been borne through the centuries by Christian kings, the German

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in the last place, G. Coedès, *JGIS.* I, 2, p. 67.

Kaiser and the Russian Czar. Besides it is known that before the Mahāyānist push of the 8th century, Śivaism was planted in Java. The Janggal inscription (732 A.D.) relating to king Sañjaya of Central Java records that the first Śaiva temple in Java was erected by a Brahman clan of the Agastya gotra and that the model of this temple was derived from a Śaiva temple in Kunjara Kunjadeśa, a sacred site in Southern India on the banks of the Tungabhadra.<sup>1</sup>

Before the Mahāyānist influence, whose origin must be sought in Northern India and principally among the Pālas of Bengal, the great Indonesian islands knew a Śivaite period marked by a close contact with Southern India. This Śivaite influence has not left its traces only in the religious domain. It must likewise have made itself felt also in the social and political organisation. "The intimate intercourse between South India and Sumatra is indicated," says Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "by some existing Sumatran clan-names, such as Choliya, Paṇḍiya, Meliyala, Pelawi, which may be easily identified with the Chola, Pāṇḍya, Malayalām, and Pallava."<sup>2</sup> Dr. R. C. Majumdar has justly abstained from specifying at what epoch these South Indian names were introduced into Sumatra. Nevertheless, the inscription of Janggal as well as the facts studied above makes us think that the intercourse between South India and Sumatra commenced from before the 8th century and that this intercourse had for its result in the religious domain the propagation of Śivaism and in the political domain the rise of the Śailendra power.

## APPENDIX

The preceding study permits the interpretation of a passage from a Chinese text, which has embarrassed its interpreters. This passage is extracted from the notice relating to the empire of San-fo-ta<sup>3</sup> in the *Chu fan Chi* of

1 O. C. Ganguly, *The Art of Java*, p. 4.

2 *JGIS.*, I. 2, p. 91 and other references in the foot note.

Chau Ju-Kua written in 1226. (Cf. Chau Ju-Kua, *His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, entitled *Chu-fan-ichi*, tr. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, 1912; P. Pelliot, *Toung Pao*, t. XIII, 1912, pp. 446-461; G. Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*, p. 10).

P. Pelliot translates thus:—"There is a Buddha who is called the Buddha of the Mountain of Gold and of Silver. His statue is cast in gold. Each king, [just] before mounting the throne, causes his [own] statue to be cast in gold to replace that statue. Vases and plates of gold are made and solemn homage is paid to that image. The golden statues, the vases and plates, all of them bear inscriptions so that the future generations may not destroy them."

M. G. Ferrand interprets the same passages as follows:—"There is [at San-to-ts'i] a [sort of] Buddha, [that is to say, a statue] called 'Mountain of gold and of silver,' which is cast in gold."<sup>1</sup>

The context clearly indicates that that statue is that of the king and changes with each reign. The use of the word Buddha, which is applied to it in the Chinese text, might be due to two reasons:—(a) This statue was the object of a cult analogous to what is rendered to the statue of Buddha; (b) it was the statue of a king identified with Śiva-Buddha. The first fact emerges from the notice in *Chu fan Chi* itself, the second from what I have said above.

The text can be explained thus:—"There is an idol which is called the idol of the mountain of gold and silver....." This mountain could only be the cosmic mountain or its representation because it is known that this mythic mountain is made of precious metals. The custom reported by Chau Ju-Kua can be explained in the light of the ideas developed above. The emperor being identified with the king of the gods must be enthroned on the cosmic mountain: that is why his statue is placed at the top and worship is paid to him in that place.

1 G. Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*, p. 10, n. 3.

2 G. Ferrand, *ibid.*, p. 10.

## Migration of Indian decorative motifs

By Devaprasad Ghosh.

### (1) *Caitya-window arch.*

The romantic history of the typical Indian device (*Gavākṣa*), illustrates the amazing process of transformation of a purely architectural motif into a decorative device of elegant beauty and rhythmic grace, having in the end but a remote resemblance with the original pattern. By constant association with the early Indian Caitya-halls (both rock-cut and structural), the horse-shoe openings have derived their ordinarily accepted nomenclature as Caitya-windows. The Lomas Rsi cave in the Barabar Hills, Bihar, offers the earliest example of this type.<sup>1</sup> The original wooden prototype of this ogee arch, lined with purlins, can be clearly made out from this and later examples. From the 3rd century B.C., to the 16th century A.D.—for nearly two millenniums—the unbroken development of this motif throughout India proper is an indication of the wonderful unity and continuity of Indian art.<sup>2</sup>

We may now enquire whether any simultaneous development was going on in the neighbouring lands of Campā, Cambodia and Java. In Indo-China itself, the people of which revelled in the art of decoration, the utter simplicity and stagnation of this everchanging Indian ornament, is indeed disappointing.<sup>3</sup> The *Gavākṣas* of Indo-China and early Java are unduly flat, extremely broad and

1 Coomaraswamy, A.K.—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. IX, 28.

2 This is treated in detail in my forthcoming work on "*Decorative Art of Orissa*."

3 A very important article, relating to the later transformation of this motif in Cambodia, "*Concerning some Indian influences in Khmer Art*" by Countess Coral-Rémusat appears in *Indian Art & Letters*, second issue for 1933, pp. 110-21.

monotonously plain without bead-mouldings, side wings and *Kirtimukha* finials. A welcome variety is sought to be created by breaking the inner line into double curves in Tjandi Bhima. It is difficult to trace any window pattern in the stupendous Boro-Budur at a superficial glance. However, a closer scrutiny will reveal that the miniature decorative ornaments embellishing the parapets of each tier, are nothing but the full-fledged Indian device, completely resolved into scrolls.<sup>1</sup> Its various elements which are clearly perceptible, resemble the ornament from the temple of Sobhalde at Saladdapur, Jaipur, to a surprising extent.

But the ingenuity of the Javanese craftsmen lies in skilfully converting the *Gavākṣas* into magnificent *Toraṇas*. The portals and niches of Central Java monuments, e.g., Tjandi Kalasan and Boro-Budur, are crowned by fantastic *Kirtimukhas* and richly wrought jamb carvings, which descending from their mouths end in graceful sweeping *Makara* spouts (fig. 2).

"The very *Kāla-Makara* ornament" says Dr. Vogel, "though undoubtedly derived from Indian Art is the outcome of an indigenous combination and development.....both the decorative device and the gateway which it adorns are not Indian but Indo-Javanese and the same may be said with regard to the monument to which they belong."<sup>2</sup> We, however, contend that of the so-called *Kāla-Makara* motif, not only the elements, but the whole design itself, is purely Indian. In our opinion the peculiar combination of the *Kāla* and *Makara* motifs was not evolved by the indigenous followers of the Indian master-builders of Java, but was known to Indian art long before. In the centuries immediately following the Christian era, floral devices are noticed to issue out of the distended jaws of the gaping *Makaras* in the Bharhut, Sāncī and early Amarāvati art. Even as early

1 Kram—*Hindoo-Javanische Kunst*, Vol. III, pl. 29.

2 Vogel—"The Relation between the Art of India and Java," *Influence of Indian Art*, London, 1925, p. 62.



Fig. 1. *Caitya-window*, Bhuvaneshvara,  
Orissa, India.



Fig. 2. *Caitya-arch*,  
Central Java.



Fig. 3. *Caitya-arch*, Tang dynasty,  
China.



Fig. 4. *Caitya-arch*, Yuan dynasty,  
China.

as the 1st century B.C., *Maḥaras* are placed at the springing of the semi-circular arch-bands in the Gaṇeṣa Gumphā, Rāpi Gumphā and Jayā-Vijayā caves on the Udayagiri Hill in Orissa.<sup>1</sup> Arch-bands are also frequently made to start from *Maḥara* mouths in the interior side walls of the aisles of Cave XXVI at Ajanṭa.<sup>2</sup> The representation of the *Maḥaras* and *Kirttimukha* head at the springing and crown, respectively, on the façade of the 5th century monument (Cave No. XIX) at Ajanṭa is well known. Moreover, the entire window device seems to flow out of the grinning head of the *Kirttimukha* (fig. 1) with the usual *Maḥara* spouts projecting outwards from each side in the Vaitāl Deul temple in Bhuvaneśvara (c. 5th century A.D.).<sup>3</sup> To crown all, the beautiful Toraja in front of the Mukteśvara temple, Bhuvaneśvara (c. 950 A.D.) is decorated with two exquisitely carved *Maḥara* heads, which project boldly outwards from the springing of the arch.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the tre-foiled arches, forming the background of the *Parīṣa Devatās* of the Liṅgarāja temple, Bhuvaneśvara, are capped by a *Kirttimukha* accompanied with *Maḥara* projecting spouts at the usual place.

In the face of these facts, it is difficult for us to accept the theory of Dr. Vogel that it was left to the indigenous artists of Java to combine the *Kirttimukha* and the *Maḥara* into an organic motif. On the contrary, it is our strong conviction that the combined motif, represented by the Caitya-window niches, migrated to Java from Orissa itself. Recent researches tend to show a close dynastic connection between Kalinga and Indonesia. In fact, Dr. Cordès has lately accepted the view of myself and Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the Śailendras of Śrīvijaya originated from the Śailodbhavas of Orissa.<sup>5</sup>

1 Fergusson & Burgess—*Cave Temples of India*, pl. I.

2 Havell E.B.—*Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, pl. 46.

3 Banerji, R.D.—*History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. II, pl. facing p. 348.

4 *Ibid.*, pl. facing p. 24.

5 (a) Cordès, G.—*On the Origin of the Śailendras of Indonesia*, *JGIS*, Vol. I, No. 2.

Leaving aside for the moment Indonesia, where the recurrence of this favourite Indian decorative formula is not surprising, let us turn to the north to explore traces of its overland migration. Is it accidental that in China itself the Caitya-arch motif is strongly recalled by the flat ogee arches supported by two polygonal pilasters ending in lotus capitals, at the entrance and inside the caves of Lung Shan in Shansi?<sup>1</sup> By strange coincidence, also, the pairs of phoenix birds or dragons at the springing of the arches are curiously reminiscent of their Indian prototypes, the *Hamsa* and the *Makara* respectively. As we shall see presently, this complex design re-appeared in the art of the Yuan dynasty (fig. 4). A simplified form of the arch is to be found over door-ways of the T'ang period in Chili,<sup>2</sup> having a close affinity with early Mathurā types (fig. 3).<sup>3a</sup>

Turning from the Far East to the Near East, our attention is arrested by the presence of some curiously shaped ancient monolithic tombs in Lycia in south-western Asia Minor, among a series decidedly Hellenistic in character.<sup>4</sup> Archaeologists have long wondered as to their origin. However, the single rectangular cellas surmounted by barrel vaulted roofs, immediately recall to the mind some of the monolithic *Rathas* at Mamallapuram<sup>5</sup> and the structural Caitya-halls at Ter and Chazarka.<sup>6</sup> Is it possible that the arched gables of the sacrophagus tombs at Telmessus in Lycia, fringed with purlins, were inspired by Indian prototypes? It must be admitted that the Indian feeling has

(b) Ghosh, D.P.,—*Relation between Buddha images of Orissa and Java, Modern Review*, Calcutta, Nov. 1933.

(c) Majumdar, R. C.,—*Les Rois Sailendra de Suvarnadwipa*, BEFEO., t. XXXIII, fasc. I, p. 141.

1 Siren, G.,—*Chinese Sculpture*, London, 1925, pls. 207, 208, etc.

2 *Ibid.*, pls. 535, 536.

3a Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture, Eastern Art*, Vol. III, figs. 43, 66.

3 Keene, J. C.,—*The Lycian Cities of the Xanthus River Valley, Art and Archaeology*, Washington, May-June, 1934, figs. 3, 4 and 11.

4 Havell—*Op. cit.*, pl. XXIV.

5 Coomaraswamy—H.I.A., pl. XXXV, 147.

been emphasized by the introduction of a horned bull's head as the finial of such arch on the façade of a rock-out tomb at Pinara, strikingly resembling the Caitya-window arch with its horned Kirttimukha finial (fig. 5.).

## 2. KIRTTIMUKHA

The *Kirttimukha* or the "glorious face" is another typical decorative symbol which penetrated all the lands where Indian art and culture travelled or left its impress. It is a fantastic lion face with spiralic horns, terrible goggle eyes, curling whiskers and a hideous grimace ejecting flames. As an auspicious symbol and protecting agent it always crowns the Caitya-arches in architecture, decorative niches in sculpture and *Prabhā-toranas* of the images, besides filling some minor offices in early mediæval India.

It received a fresh and vigorous lease of life in the colonies. Some of the earliest specimens in Ceylon, have been referred to in detail by Mr. O. C. Gangoly.<sup>1</sup> In mediæval Sinhalese art, the full face detached of a *Siṃha*, called *Kibhī-mana*, "is most often seen in *Makara-torana*, where it forms the central feature in the position of the keystone of the arch; and it is used in design as the starting-point of the sprays and branches of foliaceous ornament."<sup>2</sup> The row of ogre-heads disgorging chaplets of pearls, is the chief decorative element of most of the pagodas and temples of Burma from the 11th to the 13th century A.D., e.g., Seinnyet, Mahābodhi, Nanpayā, Dammayazaka, Gawadawpalin and Tilominlo—all at Pagan. Although in comparatively low relief and characterized by broad and stunted features, the earlier specimens are full of round and flowing lines. But the later reproductions, employed on the piers inside the Nanpayā temple, Myinpagan, are noted for the extremely floriated forms in low relief. The ornate character of the device is further augmented by the

<sup>1</sup> Gangoly—"A note on Kirttimukha: being the life history of an Indian architectural ornament" *Rāpan*, January, 1920, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> Coomaraswamy—*Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, p. 86, fig. 23.

elongated and dangling ornamental foliages, inside the loops of pearl festoons.<sup>1</sup> "Even in its conventionalised form as illustrated in the decoration of the Nanpayā temple (Fig. 17), it offers variations which cannot be said to be derived from successive copying of the patterns of India proper. So that, the examples of this decorative device met with outside India cannot be said to be derived by a direct line of descent from the patterns of the main land."<sup>2</sup> We do not concur with this opinion. For so far as the design of the Nanpayā temple is concerned (fig. 7), it is more than obvious that this particular combination was derived from Orissan monuments across the Bay of Bengal (fig. 6).<sup>3</sup> However, the most astonishing factor in Burmese architecture is, that in spite of the universal application of the *Makara-Torana*, the *Kirtimukha* is strongly absent from its traditional place at the top. Still we can discern from the images of Buddha, that in the domain of sculpture proper, it could not be dislodged from its hallowed position on the finial of the *Prabhā-Torana*.<sup>4</sup>

Next it is easy to detect strongly marked South Indian influences in the "glory face" depicted on a stone fragment from Prapatom in Siam.<sup>5</sup> Its representation in the Cham monuments, however, is extremely scarce, although it can be recognised in a highly stylized form, composed of incoherent spirals, on the pedestal supporting a sitting Śiva, from the grand temple of Dong-doung.<sup>6</sup> This is almost similar to the types illustrated on some rectangular panels on the pedestals supporting figure sculpture in the *Jagamohana* of the Śūrya temple at Konārak. It is more common in

1. Ferguson—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, pl. XXXV.

2. Gangoly—*Op. cit.*, p. 18.

3. Cohn, W.—*Indische Plastik*, pl. 63.

4. Duretelle—*Excavation at Hmawza, Prome, ASAR.*, 1911-12, pl. LXVIII, 5.

5. Salmony—*Sculpture in Siam*, pl. 4, a.

6. Parmentier—*Les Sculptures Chames, Asie Asiatique*, Vol. VI, pl. XXVIII.

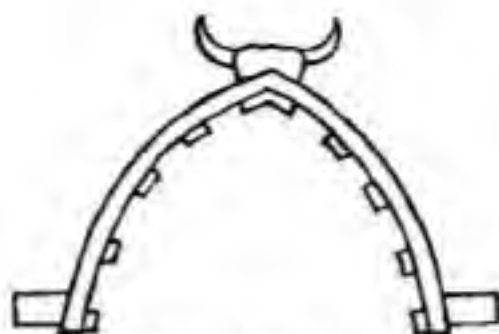


Fig. 5. *Carthy-arch*, Lycia, Asia Minor.



Fig. 6. *Kirttimukha*, Konarak,  
India.



Fig. 7. *Kirttimukha*, Pagan,  
Burma.



Fig. 8. *Kirttimukha*, Lung-Men, China.

*Sketches by D. P. G.*

Cambodia, in the pre-Khmer and classical epochs alike. Elegantly chiselled broad and stunted faces, defined by graceful rhythmical curves, emitting festoons and surrounded by floral devices, decorate the mouldings of the Sambor-Preikuk group of the pre-Khmer period.<sup>1</sup> The classical examples, however, are different in character and more conventional. They are often noticed, on the door lintels in the centre of a rambling luxuriant foliage starting, as usual, from its gaping mouth. The head, unlike the Indian prototype, is circumscribed by a sharp tre-foil outline, while the jaw set with pointed bristling fangs describes a shallow curve. Little ornamental horns grow from above the eyes.<sup>2</sup>

But, it is not until we reach Java, that the "glory face" is found to reach the climax of its glory and "the zenith of its artistic sensibility." The *Kirtimukha* (*Kāla* or *Banaspati* of the Dutch archaeologists) is the ornament "par excellence of Java, where it assumes a majestic form and a definite architectonic character." As an indispensable adjunct for the upper part of niches and arches it gradually develops into the arch itself, in which "the head forms the keystone and the two radiating necks terminating in 'makaras' constitute the two abutments (fig. 2). The most typical example of this novel use is here borrowed from Tjandi Kali Bening, near Kalasan ..... It is not until its purely decorative and artistic feature, with all the exuberance of legendary or fanciful suggestion, combines with its structural or constructive function, that the *Kirtimukha* realises the supreme crowning moment of its life and may be said to have attained the apex of its career."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Stutterheim in a searching article has recently tried to explain the origin, composition and underlying symbolism of this so called "*Kāla-Makara*" ornament, from a novel and interesting angle.<sup>4</sup> A critical analysis will

1 Parmentier—*L'Art Khm̃r: P̃m̃ij*, pl. XVI.

2 *Asia et Archéologie Khm̃r*, II, fasc. 3, 1926, pl. 32 B.

3 Gangoly—*Op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 30.

4 Stutterheim—The Meaning of the *Kāla-Makara* ornament. *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. I, 1929, pp. 27-52.

reveal that the gigantic central Javanese *Kirttimukha* pieces are greatly elongated horizontally. The ornamental folds over the oblique eyes are reminiscent of Calukyan types; but the tusks curve inwardly and the *Makara* pairs are translated into *Sardulas*, emerging from the corner of the jaws. Fantastic horns, curly manes are denoted by fiery ornamental scrolls, growing upwards in fluttering agitation—the most striking element in the composition.<sup>1</sup> The upward urge of the vibrating spirals is admirably balanced by the broad sweep of undulating curve determining the distended jaw. Though elaborately treated, the superb modelling and ample breadth of composition are complemented by symmetrically disposed elegant and spreading curves. The *Kāla* head, from Candi Singa-sāri, however, is more severely treated. It is less elaborate, more round in shape and notably gains in relief and volume. It appears to have a greater resemblance than anything else, with the archaic "glory face" of the Sarnath Gupta lintel.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the "Tao-tieh" form of the early Chinese bronzes, Mr. Gangoly has already pointed out that "it has more than an accidental resemblance to the *Kirttimukha* both in its fundamental outline and its conventional representation in which the features of the original 'lion face' have been skilfully dissembled." Further investigation has enabled us to discover a series of typical Indian *Kirttimukhas* in Chinese art beginning from the 5th century A.D. This tangible evidence of Indian influence in the monuments of China, is a matter of no surprise, when we remember the brisk political and religious intercourse which commenced from the close of the 4th century between the two neighbouring lands.

The first instance of the crude lion masks in Chinese art can be traced in the round-eyed and tusked monsters which

1 Krom—*L'Art Javanais, Ars Asiatique*, Vol. VIII, pl. 1.

2 The survival of the *Kirttimukha* motif in Polynesia has been pointed out by Dr. Panchanan Mitra in an article on Indian and Polynesian art in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Dec., 1933, p. 114.

are employed to fasten the curtain framing the niche containing the Buddha image in Cave XXVI at Yun-Kang.<sup>1</sup> By the early part of the 6th century, the Chinese sculptor had thoroughly mastered the significant form of the Indian "glory face" as distinguished from the indigenous "Tao-tieh." In the decorative scheme of the Grotto of the Kuyangtung at Lungmen, the prominent features of the *Kirttimukha* are portrayed in varying degrees of low relief. All the peculiar elements of a typical Gupta prototype<sup>2</sup> are present in the flying locks of hair, goggle eyes, ornamental horns and the terrible array of fangs flanked by a pair of small tusks (fig. 8.). The unequivocal testimony of its Indian origin is furnished by the traditional festoons of pearls (here twisted), interspersed with ornamental buckles, which dangle from the grinning mouths and intersect one another.<sup>3</sup> That this typically Indian device did not meet with a premature end on the Chinese soil, is amply borne out by a votive stela from Shansi of the T'ang period, containing a niche of Sakyamuni Buddha, surmounted by symmetrically disposed tasseled pearl garlands issuing from a boldly carved "lion-face."<sup>4</sup>

It might be mentioned in this connection that Koop in his compendious volume on "The Early Chinese Bronzes" has all along characterised the "Tao-tieh" designs of the vessels of the First, Second and Han (or the Third) style-periods, as the *ogre or monster masks*, while the ornamental forms appearing in the T'ang (or the Fourth) style period, are distinguished as "*lion-masks*."<sup>5</sup> Thus he indirectly supports our assumption, that the fantastic decorative emblems, associated with the Buddhist remains only, are lineally descended from an extra-Chinese prototype, instead of the typically indigenous pattern. Further we find that festoons emanating from lion-heads, continued to be represented in Buddhist sculptures of the Sung period. But we are really amazed

1 Siren—*Op. cit.*, pl. 62.

2 Cohen—*Indische Plastik*, pl. 24, (Devagiri temple).

3 Siren—*Op. cit.*, pl. 80.

4 *Ibid.*, pl. 369.

5 Koop—*Early Chinese Bronzes*, pl. 96.

when we unexpectedly come across the combined Makara-Kirttimukha design, in its Chinese version, in the Lung Hu ta pagoda at Sen Tung ssee, constructed as late as the Yuan dynasty. The doorways of the square cella, are crowned with characteristic ogee arches, decorated at the finials by boldly projecting Kirttimukha heads and terminating in awful enormous gaping Makaras in highly stylized forms.<sup>1</sup> They also enclose within their sweep other figure sculptures of exuberant richness, recalling the inevitable components of the Caitya-window arches of Indian and Indonesian art (fig. 4). It speaks not a little for the remarkable vitality and aggressiveness of the Indian motifs, that they could penetrate into and thrive on the Land of Pagodas, at the expense of the mighty all-pervading Dragon and the Phoenix bird.<sup>2</sup>

1. Siren—*Op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 617.

2. For the migration of the Makara motif to Greater India and China see my article "Makara in Indian Art" in *Calcutta Review*, October, 1930 or "De Makara in De Indische Kunst," *Oriënt*, 10 Jaargang No. 6, Einde 1930, pp. 191-196.

## A Sanskrit Treatise by a Tibetan Author

By Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

There are hundreds, nay thousands, of books translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by Indians and Tibetans jointly, but so far no work was found that is rendered into Sanskrit from an original Tibetan by an author who himself is a Tibetan. But thanks to Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, our Sanskritists and specially those of India, the land of Sanskrit, will feel extremely glad to know that he has brought out such a text in the *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping*, Peiping, 1932, on which the following few lines are based.

It is a booklet and is reproduced in the Journal referred to above by the Baron from seventeen plates of a xylograph. Each folio contains in the following order:

1. The Sanskrit version in the old Indian script.
2. The transliteration of the same in the Tibetan character.
3. The original Tibetan text.
4. The Mongolian version of the Tibetan text.
5. The Chinese translation of the text inscribed on the lower margin of Staël-Holstein's copy by one Mr. Ku Hua Fu.

The original Tibetan text, as the colophon shows, is the composition of Dam pa (or Uttama in Sanskrit). And the Sanskrit translation seems also to have been made by him. In the Sanskrit colophon the author's name is Uttala instead of Uttama. This may be due to a mistake of the maker of the xylograph. The epithet of the name of the author in both the colophons, Tibetan and Sanskrit, appears to have

the same sense, the former reading *lha bris* (= *deva-citra-ḥara*) and the latter *citraḥara*.

The name of the text is *Bla maḥi nal ḥbyor* or *Garuyoga* in Sanskrit. It is also described in the author's own words as *Guru-upacāraḥkrama* and called *Tuṣṭārāja*.<sup>1</sup>

It deals with the method of worship well-known in Mahāyāna Buddhism, taking refuge (*śaraṇagamana*), the production of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda*), the contemplation of the infinite, i. e., four *apramāṇas* or *brahmanihāras*: *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*, the invitation of the *ḥṣetra* (*ḥṣetrūḥṣaṇa*), etc.

Sanskritists and specially those of India will naturally feel curious to know how a Tibetan Pandit writes Sanskrit. In order to satisfy their curiosity the Sanskrit portion only of the booklet is reproduced below as it is in the xylograph with no emendation whatsoever though this is absolutely necessary for understanding the meaning. We have however added foot-notes to help the reader to catch the exact meanings of the Sanskrit words. For the sake of elucidation their Tibetan equivalents have also been quoted where necessary.

The author is a Buddhist, and readers will find that his Sanskrit is in no way better than what is known as Buddhist Sanskrit. Sometimes it is even worse. It is full of mistakes from beginning to end. The Sanskrit knowledge of the author is so poor that he cannot often write Sanskrit words correctly. In this respect he may be compared with Chinese Sanskritists, Li Yen and Yi-tsing, authors of the Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries *Fan yu tsā ming* and *Fan yu ts'ien tsen wen* respectively.<sup>2</sup>

1 The actual reading is *tuṣṭārāja nāma* not *tuṣṭe*. Tib. would however read *tuṣṭadevarāja* (*dgaḥ lōn lha rgyal ma*).

2 See Prabodh Chandra Bagchi; *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*. Sino-Indica, Publications de l'Université de Calcutta, Tome II.

## Sanskrit Text

[Ic] गुरुयोग विजहरः<sup>1</sup>

[IIa] नमो रत्नप्रयाय । अत्र तुष्टितराज्याम गुरु-उपचारक्रम ।

[IIb] परिकल्पित<sup>2</sup> उपदेशा सर्वकाश्यामि । इयं उपदेशं तु<sup>3</sup> पूर्वगः नरतुनिः<sup>4</sup>  
विसर्गः<sup>5</sup> [IIIa] क्रमेणः<sup>6</sup> (I) पूर्वगमपि शारङ्ग उत्पद्य<sup>7</sup> प्रमाद्य<sup>8</sup> यथा (I) प्रथमा  
शारङ्गममलम्<sup>9</sup> ।<sup>10</sup> तथाथा ।गुरु इत्येवं शारङ्ग<sup>11</sup> गच्छामि<sup>12</sup> ।तुष्टभोपिचर्या<sup>13</sup> शारङ्ग<sup>14</sup> गच्छामि ।<sup>15</sup>मनु<sup>16</sup> डाकिनि य शारङ्ग<sup>17</sup> गच्छामि ।<sup>18</sup>[IVa] धर्मसारङ्ग शारङ्ग<sup>19</sup> गच्छामि ।<sup>20</sup>इति प्रियवक्तुः<sup>21</sup>द्वितीय बोधिचित्तमुत्पाद्य ।<sup>22</sup>समुद्भूतं च गच्छोत्तम<sup>23</sup> वेपु[IVb] यद्यत<sup>24</sup> बोधि मे शारङ्ग<sup>25</sup> गच्छामि ।<sup>26</sup>मम धराजदाप्रमुखममेव<sup>27</sup>सुद्धामिरमन्तु सारङ्गानी हितानि प्र<sup>28</sup>

1 "go vijahāra (bāga).

2 "kita".

3 tu (gnum).

4 Tib. transliteration wrongly reads *vasdumih* which gives no meaning;  
Tib. *dras gi* meaning simply *asata*.5 *Vinargah?* In the sense: I *avaśāna*, pointed (*m*)ug).6 *krameṇa*.7 *utpādana*. Tib. simply *sams*, *citta*, evidently for *cittotpādana*.8 For *apramāṇa*, Tib. *talad med*, *four brahmacāhāra*.9 *traya*; but Tib. construction would have *trayāt* (*gsum las*).10 *Prathama śaraṅga*; for *prathama*, Tib. *dan po*.11 *śaraṅga*.12 *gacchāmi*.13 *sauśāna*.14 *māṇ*.

15 "tristāna aṣṭa.

16 *bodhicitta*?

17 "tāmā".

18 *gacat*.19 *śaraṇam*.20 *gacchāmi*.21 Tib. reads: *balag gi adgin sogs po gye po hdi dag gi* which sug-  
gests: *mama dānapramāṇāṇa anena*.22 For this Tib. has: *hgro la pham phye sogs rgyas hgrub por śag*  
suggesting *jagato hitāṇa buddhāḥ siddhanta*.

[Va] श्रीतीय वमद्वयवत् १

सर्वगति यथासुखं च योगन्तु<sup>1</sup>

गमावित्त संदुष्य च प्रमोचन्तु<sup>2</sup>

न दुष्टन्ति<sup>3</sup> सद्यसेवापि पुष्टन्तु<sup>4</sup>

[Vb] सदोपेक्षप्रमाद्येन<sup>5</sup> प्रतिष्ठन्तु ।

वस्तुनि भोगे<sup>6</sup> क्षेत्राकर्षणः<sup>7</sup> सन्ततज्ज्वालयः<sup>8</sup> विदिपद्यतः<sup>9</sup> त्रयो भवन्ति ।

[VIa] अस्य प्रथमः<sup>10</sup> क्षेत्राकर्षणः<sup>11</sup>

तुष्टिता<sup>12</sup> राजस्य वायस्य

हृदयान् परहर<sup>13</sup> दधीय जलधीयेन<sup>14</sup>

[Vib] चर्मराट् सद्य एमणिकिति<sup>15</sup> श्रीः ।

सहि च पुतरि<sup>16</sup> द्वांस्य माचन्तु ॥<sup>17</sup>

1 *trītya apamāda-bhāvanam ca*; Tib. *gyam pa tsad med bagom pa ni*.

2 Tib. *hgyo kun ji lam bde ba bdegy gyar cig* meaning *soared gath* (i.e., the six kinds of living beings in different planes, such as gods, demons, men, beasts, ghosts and hell-beings) *gachaukha pa jagsam*.

3 What *gyam* means is not known to me, nor does the Tib. version give any help. Here *ukhila samudakha* is for *ukhila samudakha* and *pramocanti* for *pramarganti* according to Tib. which reads: *edag bral ma las pa las thar gyar cig*.

4 Tib. *gnad med*, lit. 'not evil, misfortune, or harm' (*apākāra, bādha, anartha*). The author seems to have used *dusanti* in the imperative mood as in the preceding sentences.

5 Tib. *bde ba gyas paśi dnos gyar cig*, lit. *regularity-thoughts bhavanti*. But the author seems to have meant in Sanskrit *sukhena prapanti*.

6 Read *apekṣā* for *apekṣa*, Tib. *lamtoms pa* is the Sanskrit equivalent of which is *apekṣāpām*.

7 *bhāgeṣu* for *bhageṣu*. The author appears to say *vastuni bhāge* in case of apposition, 'in the division of the main subject (*vastu*)'. Tib. has simply *vastuni* (*dñon bāśi*).

8 'harṣanam.

9 'dāpa.

10 'pradhān, Tib. *zu ba*.

11 *prothama*, Tib. *das pa*.

12 *hastirā harṣa*.

13 *tugitarā*.

14 *pāndara*.

15 *jalandhīrākṣaram*. For *panda* *ācāraṇ* Tib. has *rab dkar zo gar* *apamāda hāraḥ chu hāzin rākar* which suggests: *navapāndaradadhīrākṣam* or *jalandhīrākṣaram*.

16 'hīr'.

17 *patrasukha*, Tib. *eras dāś bcaṣ pa*.

18 *iha sthān āpanti*, Tib. *gnas hār glegs gnol*. The Skt. translator seems to have taken *sthān* for *sthān* meant for *sthānam*.



[IXa] प्रकृत<sup>1</sup> निर्मित<sup>2</sup> इदं वृक्षमेव<sup>3</sup>  
 रोमाक्षय सम<sup>4</sup> वृक्षाय लतामि ।<sup>5</sup>

वतुषां<sup>6</sup> देशतश्च ।

यदि<sup>7</sup> पुनः कले<sup>8</sup> वापमस्तपश्च<sup>9</sup>  
 नादि<sup>10</sup> कायवर्षा<sup>11</sup> बहुस्तुल्यम् ।।  
 रोष<sup>12</sup> वृ<sup>13</sup> संवत्प्रतिपल्लसवं  
 [Xa] तीव्रानुत्पले<sup>14</sup> प्रविशेषमि<sup>15</sup> ॥

पञ्चमी मोदतश्च ।

कायकले<sup>16</sup> बहुस्तुल्यपुणेन  
 अक्षयमवर्षा<sup>17</sup> समोपनिधि ।  
 [Xb] उत्कर्षं सम्यग<sup>18</sup> तत्र महाचर्ष<sup>19</sup>  
 अहमपि इषे रतुमोदयामि ॥

यद्वा उदयश्च<sup>20</sup> । [XIa]

सङ्गं वृक्षमि<sup>21</sup> नैमोसञ्चिन्<sup>22</sup> वि  
 ज्ञानं दायकन्त<sup>23</sup> चर्मकायं वनः ।  
 मयाविषं वक्ष्येयामि च मे<sup>24</sup> [XIb]  
 निमोष<sup>25</sup> सङ्गमं वक्ष्येयामि ॥<sup>26</sup>

1 *prakṛti*.

2 *nirmītam*.

3 For *magha* Tib. has *samudra* (*rga mcho*).

4 For the vocative case.

5 For *nāḥim dadimi*, Tib. *mekad hkal*. Tib. here adds to 'to you' (*khved la*).

6 *catulham*.

7 According to Tib. *gat* (*gan lig*).

8 *kāle*.

9 *lei* is.

10 In the sense of *anādi*, Tib. *thog med*.

11 For *'uṣṭmanāṣ* (= *kṣuṣṭimanasāṣ*), Tib. *las rlog yid ky*. See foot-note 4 of p. 54.

For *vilāsa*, Tib. *khpal*.

13 *tri*, Tib. *gsum*.

14 *'āpasa*.

15 *'deṣayāmi*.

16 *karṣṇakāle*.

17 *'sāmpanna*.

18 Tib. *rlabs chos mtsad pa la* which suggests *maharmikāḥyam*.

19 Tib. *baḥal ba 'snyes* (?)

20 Tib. *gsumāḥyas* (*khved rnam ky*).

21 *nabhaḥsannibha*.

22 *'dāgevanā* for *'dagvaat*, Tib. *brtac*.

23 Tib. *ji bar hstham paḥi gḍal byalḥi hstam ma la* meaning *pathā-narūpaśvegaśharūḍyam*.

24 For *nirābhoga* or *anābhoga*, Tib. *lhan grab*.

25 For *caḥra* Tib. *chad pa dbab gḍol* which is quite different.

सप्तमौ नमानश्च<sup>1</sup>

मम कति<sup>2</sup> सञ्चयकुलसमूहं [XIIa]

हाउ<sup>3</sup> गति सर्वे<sup>4</sup> छरीत<sup>5</sup> वच ।

विशेषतमायं छमति कीचित्त्व

शास्तान<sup>6</sup> गर्भित<sup>7</sup> पि<sup>8</sup> सप्रभवतु ॥

[XIIb] त्रितीय<sup>9</sup> सिद्धिप्रदान<sup>10</sup> च । अर्थनिर्देश उपदेष्टनिरुक्तं हि । प्रथमं<sup>11</sup> च । एक गद्याख्यार्थ<sup>12</sup> 'त्रिक'<sup>13</sup> [XIIIa] पठित्वाः बहिर्धोष्यत्<sup>14</sup> मुक्तं च त्रिवेदं भवत्सृष्टि<sup>15</sup> ॥ स्वाद्ययेदं<sup>16</sup> ।

अथमभ्युपगम्य गुणिज्यस्योक्ति<sup>17</sup>

[XIIIb] अमलज्ञानस्य ह्यन्त<sup>18</sup> 'मन्तुषोप ।

द्विमेव वदुस्त<sup>19</sup> यद्वा<sup>20</sup> योष्य

छमति किंचित्त्व वादं ध्येयमस्मि<sup>21</sup> ॥

[XIVa] इति ।

द्वितीयं च । अतुः<sup>22</sup> वर्ज्यं पुरापरध्वनं ज्ञानपरध्वनं छः<sup>23</sup> प्रथमं<sup>24</sup> च अद्युपिन्नापल अज्ञान [XIVb] चिद्योष द्विमेव । विषयं समञ्च । मुक्तद्वन्द्व<sup>25</sup> 'माकर्षणं मन्त्रावलि यथा उपल सर्वमुपपत्तिश्च [XV] मितं<sup>26</sup> च । प्रथमं<sup>27</sup> च ।

1 *nāmanā* or. Here *nāmanā* is *parināmanā* or *paryuparīkṣamānā*.

2 *higat*, Tib. *ii* *stod*. 3 *āsa* is the active of *āśana*, Tib. *hetan*.

4 *achite*, Tib. *phun* which means simply *he*.

5 *śūnā*. 6 Tib. clearly uses *cira* as adverb (*riñ dā*).

7 *tyāga*. 8 *prāśat* or. 9 *prathamam*.

10 For *gāthūgāh*. 11 *trivēdam*. 12 'dhyātma

13 Tib. *god par hgeñ lu*.

14 *nyad gathā* may be for *as gathā* as in Brāhmanā, or for *nyāḍ*. Tib. lit. suggests *tail* (*ide ii lter*).

15 Here *avalokī* is for *avalokīta*.

16 The author wants to express by it *amala-jñānendra*.

17 Tib. *gana can mkyas pañi* which suggests *himalaya-paṇi*. The Tib. transliteration is *can* for *sañ*.

18 For *cāḍḍāṅkāra*.

19 For *adhyasamūhi*.

20 *āgah*, Tib. *tshe*.

21 For *tri* (*trivēdam*).

22 *prathamam*.

23 Tib. transliteration reads 'atba' for 'aka'. Tib. translation does not help.

24 'bhāperināmanā

25 *prathamam*.

श्रीमान् गुह रजोत्तमे मृत भव  
 मवा<sup>1</sup> इदि यथास्तने प्रतिपत्ताः ।  
 महाप्रसादेन<sup>2</sup> मनुष्याया<sup>3</sup> मां  
 कावच<sup>4</sup> सिद्धिं वाय वच्छ नित्यं ॥

द्वितीयं च । मन्त्रि अरचय यज्ञवाशि<sup>5</sup>त्यादि<sup>6</sup> विष्णुताः ।  
 तृतीयं परिग्रामार्थं ।

[XV(a)] जन्मनि जन्मेषु सम्मन्तु गुहवरं  
 विरहितं<sup>7</sup> श्रेयोधर्मसंभवोन्मिताः ।  
 कल्प भूमिमार्गं<sup>8</sup> गुह्यसमन्वितं  
 तस्य मन्त्रपरं लभन्तु मे तुरं ॥<sup>9</sup>

[XV(b)] कृतिरिव उद्यमनाम विचक्रेद्यः संस्कृतभाषेद्य एवं प्रकाशयति  
 छन्दगुह्योर्वाग्निन्द्र<sup>10</sup> लभन्तु मां<sup>11</sup> सर्वशक्तिः ।

[XV(1a)] ॥ गुह्ययोगः तुष्तितायुतादेवं श्रीमिः विद्वरति स्म ॥



1 Tib. *baḡ gi*, in Skt. *mama*.

2 Here *m* is unnecessarily inserted.

3 Unnecessarily lengthened. See foot-note 11 of p. 52.

4 This *vaḍmaṃ* is undoubtedly for *vānmanas* (Tib. *vasān thugs*).

5 \**trapaṇi*.

6 *ityādi*.

7 Evidently the author wanted to say *śūnyahita*, Tib. *ḥbral med*.

8 *mārga*.

9 In the sense of *svāritam*.

10 *vāgindra[ta]m*.

11 For *aham*.

## An Old-Javanese Inscription from Pĕnampihan of the Śaka year 1191

By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M.A.

This Kawi-inscription is incised on seven copper-plates which were found in the mountain range of Wilis, now forming a part of Pĕnampihan of the Tulung-agung division in the residency of Kediri. Dr. Brandes wrote a short notice of this record in the *Notulen* for 1898, p. 78ff.<sup>1</sup> In his opinion it refers to the complaint of a certain person of *wijaya punpunan sang hyang sarwawadharma*, i.e., as he translates, the subordinate region of Śt. Sarwawadharma in respect of its claim for separation from the people of Thānibala. This separation had already been sanctioned by H. M. the late King Viṣṇuvardhana but the order seems to have been neglected. It appears from the above description that Dr. Brandes took Sarwawadharma and Thānibala to be place-names. This interpretation is not accepted by Dr. Poerbatjaraka<sup>2</sup> who finds here an allusion to a tussle between what we should now call 'the power temporal' and 'the power spiritual.' Whatever that may be, the record under review throws some light on the political history of contemporary Java and mentions some high functionaries of state whom we also notice in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton*. Thus King Kṛtanagara who was consecrated to rule with his father in 1254 A. D. and ruled alone from 1268 A. D. is described here as ruling over the whole of the island of Java. Particular mention is made of his suzerainty over Janggala and Pangjalu. Three principal ministers are mentioned and among other high functionaries of state the

<sup>1</sup> Since then it has been briefly noticed several times, e.g., in *Rapp.*, 1911, p. 120; Krom, *Geschiedenis I*, p. 323 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide BKI.*, 40, pp. 225-227.

three fore-most are the *rakryan (m)apatih*, *rakryan Dmung* and *rakryan hanuruhan*. This *rakryan (m)apatih* or commander-in-chief is Kbo Arēma and he is probably identical with Raganātha of the *Pararaton*. Besides these and other political data the inscription yields some information regarding the organisation of religious establishments. It is interesting to note that some of the most important personalities of this inscription are also met with in other records of contemporary Java.<sup>4</sup> The record ends in dog Sanskrit and this is interspersed with some Old Javanese words.

The record has been transcribed in Brandes-Krom, *Oudjavaansche Oorkonden*, where it bears the 79th number. I now edit the text from this transcription and add a translation of my own with proper diacritical marks.

### TEXT.

- 1 b. 1. awasti śri Sakawarāṭṭita, i Śaka 1191, Karttikamāsa  
tithi pañcami Śu
2. klapakṣa, wā, ka, wy, wāra langkir, uttarāṣṭhā  
nakṣatra, wiśwade
3. wata, gaṇḍa yoga, wairājya mubūtṭita, baruṇapar-  
wweśa, walawa karaṇa,
4. mṛcchika rāṣṭ, irika diwaśanyājñā śri Sakalajagatna-  
theśa, nārasinghamūrttyani
5. nditaparākrama, aśeṣarājānyacuḍāmaṇinārpiṭabha-  
raṇārawinda, śokasantapi
6. tasujanahḍdayāmbujāwawodhanaswabhāwa śri  
Kṛtanagananāmathiṣeka, tinadaḥ de rakrya
7. n mahāmantri katrini rakryan mantri hino, rakryan  
mantri sirikan, rakryan mantri halu, umingwor i  
parataṇḍa
- 2 a. 1. rakryan ri pakirakiran makabehan rakryan apatih  
makasikasir kbo arēma, rakryan dmung

1 Cf. *Bijlage A* in *BKI*, 96, lot facing p. 258.

2. mapañña wipakṣa, rakryan kanuruhan mapaññyanu-  
rida, makādi sang mantri wāgmima
3. ya, paranitiñña, nūṣānteramadhuranāsthānukulakā-  
raṇa, mapasāṅggahan sang rāma
4. pati, tan kawuntat sang pangat i tirwan dang  
ācāryya dharmmadewa, sang pāmgōt ing kaṇḍa-  
muhi
5. dang ācāryya smaradahana, sang pāmgōt i  
manghuri dang ācāryya smaradewa, sang pāmgōt  
ing jamba dang ā
6. cāryya siwanātha, sang pāmgōt ing pañjang jiwa  
dang ācāryyagraja, mpungku dharmmadhyakṣa  
ri kaēc
7. wan dang ācāryya siwanātha, mapaññitanutama, i  
pingsornyaññā śrī mahārāja ku
- b. 1. monakñ ring kabuyutan ri  
lokeśwara, tkeng wiṣaya pūnpunan sang hyang-
2. sarwwadharmma, pāthyangan, itye-  
wamādi, pademla
3. kna sang hyang rājaprasāti macihna kṛtanagara  
kapangkweni wiṣaya pūnpunan sang  
hyang sa
4. rwwadharmma magāhakna pangrakṣa śrī mahārāja  
ri kaewatantran sang hyang sarwwadharmma,  
sambandha nūpu
5. ngku dharmmadhyakṣa mapaññi tanutama, dinulur  
deni wiṣaya pūnpunan sang hyang sarwwadharmma
6. ing bhūmi janggala pangjalu, pinaka-  
sopananyan
7. kēn  
sawang
- 3 a. 1. sawang byāthaiyan lakwalakwanadohaparā, amiji-  
lakñ padadar, pamdihan, paga
2. rām, mareng juru, buyut, kabayan, swēh patum-  
hak tamwi, panghulu beñu ngūni
3. ngūni pamūjakñ tahun, padacangan, yatikānma-  
hakñ trāsanya, an tinitih beik

4. dening thāni bala, pinisakitan ten kinawruhina,
 

nimittanyanapulung rahyangi  
 ḡḡidbhṛta sakawat bhūming janggala pangjalu,  
 marḡk ri sang rāmapati, mwan ri rakryan apatih  
 makaso
6. pana mpungku dharimadhyakṣa mapañji tanu-  
 tama, sang rāmapati pwa sakatadharma cīntana,  
 tan hup tan
7. kuminkining karakṣāning sarwadharmma, pi towi  
 pwan hana turunyanugraha bhāṣā jaya śri  
 wiṣṇuwa
- b. 1. rddhana irikang sarwadharmman sapiha sakeng  
 thānibala, ngūnikāla sangapañji patipati dha
2. rmmādhikāraṇa, nimittanyaaenak kekaniścayaniki  
 pinintonakēn sang apañji tanuta
3. ma ri sang rāmapati, karaṇa sang rāmapati dinulur  
 de rakryan apatih sacchāya mwan sang apañji ta
4. nutama, marék ri śri mahārāja ring wiṣaya punpun-  
 an sang hyang sarwadharmma, nratiasabbaddha-  
 na panapib bha
5. jāra jayaśriwiṣṇuwarddhana, ring wiṣaya punpunan  
 sang hyang sarwadharmma sakeng thāni bala,  
 makadana
6. kaswatantran sang hyang sarwadharmma, mang-  
 dadyakna sthiratarani palinggih śri mahārāja ring  
 ratna singha
7. sana, pinakekacātraning sayawadwipa. pinako-  
 ttunggadewa sang samantaprabhu ring bhūmi
- 4 a. 1. janggala pangjalu, mangkana rasani hatursang  
 rāmapati, winuriwuri deni hatyrakryanapati
2. ḡ pinirḡḡpakēn deni sang apañji tanutama, śri  
 mahārāja prabbudewangśa, dharmmamū
3. rtyawātāra, inahakēn bhāṣā paramakāraṇa,  
 sumapwana kalēngkaning bhūwana, mimarjiwakna
4. sarwadharmma, malwyaknang jagaddhita, ma-  
 kawyakti gati sang prabhu, an satyādi wiḡitaśilānu-  
 cāra,

5. pitowipwan kakawaśa deni hatur ning paḍa  
wāgmimaya sarisaryyanghaturakēn heyopade
6. ya, kārāṇa śri mahārāja, an wawang manganumoda  
ri hatur sang rāmapati, dinulur
7. de rakryan apatih sacchāya mwan sang apañji  
tanutama, an tikang wiśaya pūnpunan sang hyang  
sa
- b. 1. rwwadharmma, sapiha sakeng thāni bala, mar-  
yyanūtakna byēt ḍanghani thāni bala, byēt hajiya
2. nagōng aḍmit, lakwalakwan adoh aparō, turuntu-  
run sagēm sarakut sakeng thāni
3. bala, maryyamūlakna padadar, pamḍihan  
pagagarēm, mareng juru, buyut, kabaya
4. n, maryyaweha papiḍa pa (ng) ti, patiklanggas,  
panghulubañu, mareng thāni halanya, sowang so
5. wang, kunōng yan panuku bañu ikang thāni bala  
pangasrayanya, tumatātukwasapanut sa
6. ni sawahnya ikang kalagyan, tanpamūlakna panu-  
lia, kunōng ikang tanpgatawūjila
7. knanya mareng thānibala, pamūjā juga, wyaktyan-  
yan tan pgata pamaraśrayanya ring thāni bala
- 5 a. 1. yapwan hana kabarēp sang prabhu rikang wiśaya  
pūnpunan sang hyang sarwwadharmma, byēt  
hajyanan, lakwa
2. lakwan, pinta palaku sa/wiranya kewala katēmwa ri  
mpungku dharmmadhyaksa juga, tan kahawa
3. ta sakeng thāni bala, kunōng kolahulaha sang  
hyang rājapraśāsti an pinūjā denikang wiśa
4. ya pūnpunan sang hyang sarwwadharmma,  
amagutapajōng kuning, acuringa rabinawngi, ndan  
haywa tekang wiśa
5. ya pūnpunan sang hyang sarwwadharmmanghiras  
watēk, angiwwa rare, abañwabañwa, apugata  
awarawaranga ri
6. khalarikapūjān sang hyang rājapraśāsti, muwah  
kawnangaknikang wiśaya pūnpunan sang hyang  
sarwwadharmma kha

7. lang kalagyan, paryyangan, mwanğ dharmma  
jumpat, ri kalanyan pamōja ri sang hyang prasāda  
kabhaktyan
- b. 1. sowang sowang, wnanğ ajnawahalang, aseumping  
tuñjung aniwak, muwah anugraha śri mahārāja
2. amलयakñ kaawatantran sang hyang sarwwa-  
dharmma, ten kaknana de sang wiśaya pūnpunan  
sang hyang sarwwa
3. dharmma ri pamdang tanghiran, pakuder panghu-  
rang, pakris, pasrah angangwawali, tuwuh watu,  
buri
4. panak, kēmbang ipōng tutuñjung, tēpēl sang ratu  
tunggak ning garyyang, nawagraha, nagapūpa,  
wnanga
5. nusuna salō, aguntīng ruhur bale, wnangañjamaha  
kawula, amupuha kawulenakwakē
6. n, amupuhangrahana, ingirup ingirit ing parud  
amangana salwining rājamangia kadya
7. ngganing badawang, wdus guntīng, karung pulih,  
pīahaning rera, asu togēl, ananēma kamale  
rumambati
- 6 a. 1. ngumah, ananēma kēmbang kunñriharēpan,  
ananēma galuguh, adwysapatēñgahan aja
2. ngwagading, ikang juru kula, mangkana manya-  
nugraha śri kṛtanagara, ri wiśaya pūnpunan sa
3. rwwa dharmma sakawat bhūmi janggala pangjalu,  
ri wruhanikang sakalanjana ryyatīśayanikadharman-  
parō
4. yaṇan śri mahārāja anpinakekacchātraning saya-  
wadwipa, maluyakñ pangaki
5. kṛtābhūmi janggala pangjalu, matangyan dadi ta  
sang hyang rājapraśasti, malawōlawō kṛtanaga
6. ra, magēhakñ kaawatantran sang hyang sarwwa-  
dharmma, sempun umunggwing ripta, hinlōpan  
pitawastra, pinangkwa
7. kēn irikang wiśayadharmma samudāya, ri sanmata  
puratandā rākryan makabehan, manghaturakni.

- b. 1. kang wiṣayadharmma, sā ( ) na, kā, 1, sū, 3, ri  
 éri mahārāja pamuspanyan sampun kṛtānu  
 \*2. graha, kunḍag ri sḍḍḅganya hanang ruddhāmung-  
 kilmungkila ri rasa sang hyang rājaprasāsti,  
 salwiranya  
 3. yadyan caturwarṇa, brahmaṇa, kṣatriya, weśya,  
 śūdra, athawa, caturāśrama, brahmācāri,  
 4. gṛhastha, wanaprastha, bhikṣuka, makādi sang  
 prabhu mantry anagata, mwan pinghayākurug  
 anakthāni ya  
 5. wat umulaholahi rasa sang hyang rāja prasāsti, tan  
 atguḥ karakṣan i kaswatantran sang hyang sarwva-  
 dharmma  
 6. tasmat kabyōt karmmaknanya, sakula gotranya-  
 muktya phalaning pāṭaka, mahāpāṭaka, atipāṭa  
 7. ka, phalanyan mangulahakḥḥ hanyayaprawṛtti,  
 kawulakan de sang hyang trayodaśa sāksī, ā  
 7 a'. 1. ditya, candrā pāṇilonalaścā, dyoh buūmirāpo-  
 hrdayam yamāśca āśaśca sātra  
 2. śca tathāścasanmyā dharmmaśca jñākinarāyawṛ-  
 ttam, mangkana pwa, yo rājānugraham hatwā,  
 3. mohat murkho oaro hi sah, parāparakulais sarw-  
 waiḥ, rorawam yantu sarwwadā, yawat bhū  
 4. tanikah sṛṣṭwā, tāwad janmi punar yyadi, kṣudra  
 jantu śarirāṇi, prāpnuyarcca narodhama, ya  
 5. di syān manuṣibhūtaḥ, kliwah kuṣṭaśca bāmaṇah,  
 an ( ) omattohyapasmaro, kubjah pa  
 6. ngguḥ kunis tathā, nahan katmahanyan dadi  
 wwang ri huwusnyan tumēmpuḥ ring mahā-  
 rorawa tū  
 7. etu, astu, astu i om namaśiwāy 801

1 The first simple is Indrasajra. Note of Dr. Brandes.

## TRANSLATION

- 1 b. 1. Hail! The Śaka year past, in the Śaka year 1191,  
the month of Kārttika, fifth day of the tri  
2. ght half of the month was (day of the six-day  
week), Kaliwon (day of the five-day week),  
Thursday. *Langhir*,<sup>1</sup> the star is Uttarāṣāḍhā, the  
deity is Viśva.  
3. the *yoga* is Gaṇḍa, the *muhūrta* is Vairāḍya, the  
lord of the orb is Varuṇa, the *Koraṇa* is Vālava,  
4. the zodiac sign is scorpion<sup>2</sup>. On this day the  
orders of the auspicious one who is overlord of  
rulers of all the worlds, an incarnation of Nara-  
siṃha of  
5. unrivalled chivalry, with (his) lotus(-feet)<sup>3</sup>  
(adorned) with ornaments given by numerous  
kings who are like crestjewels.  
6. whose nature is to smoothe the heart-lotus of  
virtuous men suffering from afflictions with the  
consecration-name śri Kṛtanagara,—were received  
by the three *raḥya*  
7. -n *mahāmantri*, (viz.) *raḥyan mantri hira*, *raḥyan*  
*mantri sirikan*, *raḥyan mantri helu*, and commu-  
nicated to *paratanḍa*  
2 a. 1. *raḥyana* of different affairs, (viz.) *raḥyan*  
(*m*)/*apatiḥ* named Kbo arṇma, *raḥyan dmung*  
2. *mapaḍji*<sup>4</sup> Wipakṣa, *raḥyan kanuruhan*<sup>5</sup> *mapaḍji*  
Anurida, having at their head the Hon. Minister  
who is extremely eloquent.

1 Expressing a Mal-Polynesian time.

2 The text has *myechika*, evidently a corruption from *zyāika*. The transformation of *z* to *m* is due to Mal-Polynesian influence.

3 The text should have *paraṇāmānda* instead of simply *maṇḍa*.

4 Lit. 'surnamed'

5 In the Majapahit period, *raḥyan rangga* and *raḥyan tumenggung* were added to the number of the above three. The *mahāmantri* gradually became figure-heads.

3. expert in foreign politics (and) intent on making friendly relations with the king of the other island, (viz.) Madhura (i.e., Madura), of the name of Sang Rāma
  4. -pati, without leaving behind (in consideration) the Sang pangat i tinan<sup>1</sup> (who is) dang acāryya Dharmadeva, sang pangāt ing kəṇḍamuhi
  5. (who is) dangacāryya Smaradaha, sang pangāt i manghūri (who is) dangacāryya Smaradeva, sang pangāt ing jamba (who is) dangā
  6. -cāryya Sivanātha,<sup>2</sup> sang pangāt ing pañjang jawa (who is) dangacāryya Agraja, my lord the superintendent of religion of the Sai
  7. -vites (who is) dangacāryya Sivanātha<sup>3</sup> surnamed<sup>4</sup> Tanutama,<sup>5</sup>—for disposing of the orders of śrī mahārāja in res
- b. 1. -pect of the temple of Lokēśvara, including the subordinate region of
2. St. Sarvadharmma ; etc.,  
are to be sufficiently informed of
  3. the sacred royal praṣasti having the seal of Kṛtānagara in respect of the subordinate region of St. Sa
  4. -rvadharmma. (This) was maintained and taken care of by Śrī mahārāja for the freedom of St. Sarvadharmma. In this connexion my lord
  5. the Superintendent of religion surnamed Tanutama was led to go to the subordinate religion of St. Sarvadharmma

1 Dr. van Næssen contributes a remarkable paper on these terms in the *BKL.*, 90, pp. 239-258.

2 These names appear to be accidentally identical.

3 In *BKL.*, 78, p. 444, Dr. Poerbatjaka takes this Mapuñji as a proper name with Tanutama. I think that he has been rightly criticised by Dr. van Næssen in *l.c.*, p. 246, n. 5.

4 It is noteworthy that the name of *dharmādhyakṣa ring kəṇḍolan*, i.e., the superintendent of religion of the Buddhists does not appear here.

6. in the countries of Janggala and Pangjalu. On that occasion
7. each
3. a. 1. of the royal servants<sup>1</sup> hurried far and near, brought fineries, cloth (and) salt,
  2. (and) went to the *juru*,<sup>2</sup> *bugut*<sup>3</sup> (and) *kabayan*<sup>4</sup> (who) gave first of all (?) stakes, guides, holy water above
  3. all religious duties for the year and all *cangans* (?). These now had the consequence of (creating) the fear of them who were thoroughly governed
  4. by Thāribala (lit. local authority) who were troubled without knowing (the remedy of) it. For reason of deliberation,
  5. the principal officers (?)<sup>5</sup> belonging to the countries of Janggala and Pangjalu tendered their homage to sang Rāmapati and to *raḥyaṇ* (*māpatih*), through the instru
  6. mentality of my lord (who is) the superintendent of religion, surnamed Tanutama. Sang Rāmapati and Sakatadharmma thought, (but) did neither try<sup>1</sup> (?) nor
  7. care for the protection of Sarvvaḍharmma, though there was still the bestowal of the favour of Bhaṭṭāra Jaya Śrī Viṣṇu

1 The text has *kyat* which is not known to me. The context prompts me to accept the above meaning. It cannot be a corruption of *bugut* as this has been correctly spelt in the following line. In a corresponding passage in 4b. 2 and in *O/O.*, p. 202, inscr. no. 83, 6a, we find *bunt kalyan ageng admi lakwalakwan adok apare*, etc., and this undoubtedly supports my translation of the term.

2 Lit. head of corporations.

3 Village-officials. According to Kern *unhale* = later *bugut*; *kabayan* = village-messenger.

4 The relevant phrase of the text is not known to me but my translation may be warranted by the context.

5 The text has a doubtful reading *hest*.

- b. 1. -*rddhana* to Śarvvadharmma about its separation from Thānibala (or, local authority) formerly while sang *apañji* Patipati<sup>1</sup> was the judge (*dhar* 2. -*mādhiḥarṇa*). For satisfying and confirming, these (officers) were presented by the worthy (one) surnamed Tanuta
3. -*ma* to Sang Rāmapati. The reason why Sang Rāmapati was accompanied by *raḥṇan* (*m*)*apatih* as a shadow<sup>2</sup> and by the worthy (one) surnamed Ta
4. -*nutama* was to pay respects to Śrī mahārāja about the subordinate region of St. Śarvvadharmma (and) to get confirmed the separation
5. of the subordinate region of St. Śarvvadharmma from Thānibala (or, local authority) made by Ehaṭāra Jaya Śrī Viṣṇuwardhana, the object being the
6. freedom of St. Śarvvadharmma. May this have the consequence of making firmer the sitting-place of Śrī mahārāja on the jewelled throne,
7. making his one umbrella protect the whole of the island of Java, (as) he has been made overlord of the worthy *sāmantaprabhus* (i. e., subordinate kings) of the countries of
- 4 a. 1. Janggala and Pangjala. Such were the contents of the memorial (lit. proposal) of Sang Rāmapati which was followed by the memorial of *raḥṇan* (*m*)*apatih*<sup>3</sup>
2. (both of which) were communicated by the worthy one surnamed Tanutama. Śrī mahārāja is a part of divinity and an incar

1 Vide N. J. Krom, *Geschiedenis*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 317, 323.

2 Or, *Svecchayā*? i. e., of his own accord.

3 Here is a linguistic peculiarity. The text has *hate-raḥṇan* which is clearly *hatur-raḥṇan*. Of these two *r*'s one has been dropped according to laice custom.

3. -nation of the image of *Dharmma*, i. e., virtue, and he was predestined by the *Bhaṭṭāra*, (lit. deity), the ultimate cause (of all things), to wipe out the disgraceful beings of the world. All the dying religious systems
4. were re-vitalised and the welfare of the world progressed apace,—all bearing testimony to the conduct of the worthy king, firstly in respect of truth and then of commendable precepts and other things.
5. These were also described<sup>1</sup> by the memorial of the one like the eloquent one (i. e., Seng Rāmapati); the substance of the presented memorial indicated what was to be left out and what was to be retained (by the king).
6. For these reasons, Śrī mahārāja immediately approved of the memorial of Seng Rāmapati who was followed by
7. *rakhyān* (*m*)/*apati* as a shadow and by the one surnamed Tanutama. He accordingly separated the subordinate region of
- b. 1. St. Sarvva<sup>2</sup>dharmma from Thānibala (or, local authority) and this ceased to follow the *byāt* *janghan*<sup>3</sup> of Thānibala (or, local authority). The royal servants,
2. great and small, travelled far and near,<sup>3</sup> and returned (to the temple) all hold and trust (previously) resting with Thānibala
3. (or, local authority). (Further) they ceased to bring

1 The text has *kaṇṇaṭṭa* = *ka* + *uṭṭa*. The lit. meaning is overthrown, subjugated, etc., but these do not appear to be applicable here. I therefore supply the above meaning from context.

2 Apparently a class of officers.

3 The writer's spelling calls for attention, for he writes the same word in different ways. Cf. *apara*<sup>1</sup> of 3a. 1. with *apara* in 4b.2. He was either careless or during his time *ā* = *a*. Influence of oral speech is also possible.

fineries, clothes and salt, and (stopped) going to *juru, buyut*

4. and *kubagan* (who) held back giving sums for the panel of servants,—<sup>1</sup>, holy water, and (ceased)<sup>2</sup> to go to any officer of *Thānibala* (or, local authority).
  5. Still, when the buying-price for (holy) water goes to the side of *Thānibala* (or, local authority), this must be diverted to buy off in agreement with (temple-authorities)
  6. *sawah*-field for the temple. The order-sheet may not be produced and the arrears realised may
  7. go to *Thānibala* (or, local authority) for religious services only, indicating (thereby) that this serves to maintain friendly relations with (lit. this does not exclude getting help from) *Thānibala* (or, local authority).
- 5 a. 1. And such are the wishes of the worthy king about the subordinate region of St. Sarvvadharmma. The royal servants travelled (far and
2. near) and requested all kinds of men to come only to interview my lord (who is) the sole superintendent of religions (*dharmmadhyakṣa*), (but) not any officer<sup>3</sup>
  3. from *Thānibala*. What now concerns is : the arrangement of the sacred *rājapraśasti* about the worship to be done by the subordinate
  4. region of St. Sarvvadharmma, about the opening of yellow umbrella and about the use of foot-bells, day and night (by its inmates). But let not the subordinate region
  5. of St. Sarvvadharmma ever stand under the

1 The word *patih/anggas* is not known to me.

2 This comes from the previous construction.

3 Apparently because all powers have now slipped off their hands, as has been suggested in #b. 2.

authority of women, lads (and) *abañwabañwa*<sup>1</sup> who may spoil (it and) add

6. difficulties to it,—(all) in scant courtesy to the sacred *nā/aprasasti*. Further, the subordinate region of St. Sarvadharmma shall possess the
7. *ḥhalang*<sup>2</sup>, cloister, temple and *dharma* junour<sup>3</sup> at the time of worship in the holy *prāsāda ḥabhak-tyan*.<sup>4</sup>
- b. 1. Each one (in these places) can use pearl-powder, *halang*-weapon, split-up lilies as ear-rings. As the favour of Śrī mahārāja
2. brings back the freedom of St. Sarvadharmma, the subordinate region of St. Sarvadharmma may not be visited by
3. *pamḍang*<sup>5</sup> *tanghiron*,<sup>6</sup> *paḥudur*,<sup>7</sup> *panghureng*,<sup>8</sup> *paḥris*,<sup>9</sup> *paḥrah*.<sup>10</sup> (Each one in these places) can use twigs, *tuwuh*-stone, *huri*
4. *panak*<sup>8</sup>, *ipōng*-flowers, *tuñjung*-flowers, *tēpōl*,<sup>8</sup> the holy *ratu tunggok ning garyyong*,<sup>1</sup> *nawagraha*,<sup>1</sup> *nāgapuspa* (i.e., *Serpent-flower*). (Each one)
5. can use a sitting bench, shelve in the high hall, dishonour slaves, beat slaves out of sportiveness,
6. kill (them) for theft, blow<sup>10</sup>—with fans, eat all kinds of rich dish (*rājamangśo*) such

1 Apparently a class of persons.

2 Probably a spelling-mistake for *Kalang*, i.e., fighting-park for *hena*. It has been mentioned in many inscriptions.

3 A kind of religious foundation.

4 Main temple?

5 A class of persons.

6 Official title of the priest.

7 In *VG.*, VII, p. 47, Kern translates this word by *Irjar*. Dr. Seutnerheim however raises plausible objections to this. Vide *TBG.*, 65, p. 243, l.n. 58. He thinks that the term corresponds to *Tuhān* or chief, older, etc.

8 A kind of flowers?

9 Name of a floral substance.

10 The meaning of *ingir* is not known to me.

7. as that of tortoise, *wḍus gunting*<sup>1</sup>, wild boar killed (even) by women (?)<sup>2</sup>, castrated dog. (Each one) can plant lotuses to creep along
- 6 a. 1. the premises, plant *kunḥ*-flowers in the neighbourhood, plant *galuguḥ* (-creepers?) and station in the middle
2. little trees of yellow cocoanuts (*viz.*) *ajangu* and the *juru kula*. Such are the contents of the favour of Śrī Kṛtanagara to the subordinate region of
3. Sarvvadharmma and principal officers of the countries of Janggala and Pangjalu. Cognisance must be taken of this that all men were in exuberance of loyalty (*lit.* virtue) to
4. Śrī mahārāja who held one umbrella over the whole of Javadvipa and brought back the unification
5. of the countries of Janggala and Pangjalu. In connexion with this, the sacred *rājaprasasti* also stated (?) that Kṛtanaga
6. -ra confirmed the freedom of St. Sarvvadharmma. Hence forward it put into writing that yellow garments would be beautified and given (?)
7. to the temple-region with the consent of the *paratanda rākryan*<sup>3</sup> of different affairs. The
5. 1. temple-region also offered—<sup>4</sup>, *kā* 1, *su* 3 to Śrī mahārāja to show respects for the favour bestowed henceforward.
2. And, in the meanwhile, if there be anyone who objects to and violates substance of the sacred *rājaprasasti*, all classes of men,
3. whether the four *varṇas* (*viz.*) Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra<sup>5</sup>, or those belonging to the four *āśramas* (*viz.*) Brahmacāri,

1 A kind of goat.

2 *Pjahaning rana* may together stand for the name of a kind of animal.

3 Spelt as *paratanda rākryan* in 1b. 7.

4 Mutilated.

5 They are mentioned for the first time in the inser. of Penumpikan.

4. *Gṛhasṭha*, *Vānaprastha*, *Bhikṣuka*, to begin with the future kings, ministers, *pinghay*<sup>1</sup>, *aḥurug*<sup>1</sup>, *anak-thāni*<sup>2</sup>, so long
  5. as they violate the substance of the sacred *rāja-prasasti* and fail to maintain and protect the freedom of St. Sarvadharmma,
  6. as the result of this deed, may all their families and relations suffer the consequences of sins, great sins (*mahāpātaka*) and excessive sins (*ati-pātaka*),
  7. bearing fruits that tend towards creating harm. They may be enslaved by thirteen deities<sup>3</sup>. The witne
- 7 a. 1. *śaśas* are the Sun, the Moon, the wind<sup>4</sup>, the fire, the ether, the earth, water, heart, Yama, day, night,
2. as also time<sup>5</sup>, laws, the group of Jānaki and Nārāya(ṇa?). Now then, if any one violates the royal favour
  3. out of infatuation, he is a fool; he always goes to the *Raurava*-hell with all his families and relations. As long as beings
  4. are created, if he is reborn during this period, this mean man shall receive the figure of a tiny beast; if
  5. he is born as a human being, he shall be a eunuch, leper, dwarf . . . . . with dropsy, hunch-back,
  6. disabled body and finger-disease. Thereafter he may be incarnated in such a man as will at last be thrown into the *Mahāraurava*-hell. Let
  7. it be so, be it so, be it so. Om! Salutation to Śiva ||O||

dated 898 A.D. (OJO., XXXI). The *condālas* and *Mlecchas* are also mentioned herein. The copper-plates of Keban-pasar, dated 873 A.D. (OJO., IX), also refer to the four *śaśas*, but these plates are regarded as unauthentic by some.

1. A class of officers.

2. Lit. natives.

3. In the Old-Javanese text *Amaraṇṇāṭi*, we read: "*Amaraṇṇāṭi* *prōktāḥ*." Vide my *Indian influences*, etc., p. 112.

4. The use of the prefix *ga* before the compound is unnecessary.

5. *Samyā* = *Samaga*? This may be due to copyist's carelessness.

## Identification of "Sri Vishnuvarman" of the Perak Seal<sup>1</sup>

By Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra.

One of the most interesting objects that have been brought to light during the excavations carried out, not very long ago, by Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans at the site of Tanjong Rawa Kuala Selinsing, Perak, was a small engraved piece of semi-precious stone—a signet, (the ring to which it must originally have been attached has not yet been found). It now ranks among those important antiquities that bear an eloquent testimony to the Hindu culture prevailing in the Malay Peninsula during the early centuries of the Christian era. It has been described by its discoverer as follows: "It is a small seal of red cornelian of good colour and somewhat translucent, chamfered at the edges on the face and there engraved with an inscription running the length of the seal in the middle. The dimensions of the piece are 1.4 cms. × 1 cm. × 4 cm. (cit.). The back is flat." The original seal is now preserved in the Perak Museum, and has since been studied from its imprints by several scholars. While divergent opinions have been offered regarding its script, contents and age, no possible identification of its owner is yet forthcoming.

The present writer has had occasion to deal, at some length, with this piece of antiquity in his thesis entitled *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*;<sup>2</sup> but the recent note by Mr. Roland Braddell has prompted him to comment upon the same in greater detail.

1 *Oudh. Versl.* 1930, p. 36; I. H. N. Evans, *JFMSM.*, Vol. XV, pt. 3, 1932, pp. 84, 86, 88, 89-90, 110-11, pl. xxviii, figs. 1, 2; *JRASMB.*, Vol. XI, pt. II, 1933, p. 209; R. O. Winstedt and R. J. Wilkinson, *A History of Perak—JRASMB.*, Vol. XII, pt. I, 1934, p. 4; Roland Braddell, *JRASMB.*, Vol. XII, pt. II, 1934, pp. 173-4.

2 This is being published under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and may appear in the next issue (January, 1935) of the Society's Journal. [It has since been published—Ed.]

As Mr. Evans states, the legend on the seal was formerly read by some Dutch authorities as *śrī viṣṇuvarmman*, and later by Dr. C. O. Blagden and Dr. L. D. Barnett as *śrī viṣṇuvarmmasya*. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta of the Madras University however, writing to Mr. Roland Braddell, observes: "The writing on the seal may be read either *śrī viṣṇuvarmmasya* or *śrī viṣṇuśarmmasya*, the termination being wrong in either case, and the usual form being *varmaṇaḥ* or *śarmmaṇaḥ*." I myself had already surmised that the reading was perhaps *śrī viṣṇuśarmmasya*, in which case no error of grammar would present itself. I was indeed led to this assumption by a close resemblance which one often finds between the formations of the letters *ca* and *dha* in a script like the present one. I had, however, to give up that view; for an examination of the three impressions of the seal, kindly supplied to me by the Keeper of the Perak Museum and by the Director of the Archaeological Survey of Netherlands East Indies, convinced me that the letter under discussion was not likely to be read as *dha*, because it is exactly similar to that in the second syllable—*vi*. The legend decidedly reads: *śrī viṣṇuvarmmasya*. It thus contains two fallacies: *śrī* for *śri* and *varmmasya* for *varmaṇaḥ*. The former may be ascribed to the engraver who has put a simple curve that usually marks a medial *i* (short), whereas he ought to have cut a spiral to indicate the *i* (long). The second mistake is rather difficult to explain. The form *varmmasya* may intentionally have been used in order to keep the possessive sense free from all ambiguity, the correct form *varmaṇaḥ* being liable to be confused either with the accusative plural or with the ablative singular. And indeed it seems to have been a common practice that seal-legends contained the owner's name in the genitive, as may be seen on many of the 'sealings' found at Basārh, the ancient Vaiśālī, some specimens of which contain even such forms as *kulīkharītya* and *prakāśanandītya*<sup>1</sup>. It is noticed in some of the Prākṛit languages that *ya* has become a

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-04, pp. 115, 117, Nos. 77, 98.

generalized termination of the possessive case, but not in Sanskrit. Some lexicons, on the other hand, also give a word *varma* to be used only at the end of a compound, an example of which is to be found in the *Mahābhārata* IX, 2683 (*jevalitāḍādhāriṇyā citrābharaṇavarmaṇā*). Moreover, such errors are not unknown in epigraphy. *Putra 'śva-varmaṇo uikhyātaḥ* occurs, for instance, in one of Mūla-varman's inscriptions from Borneo.<sup>1</sup> In India, too, one comes across such a usage as *mahārāja-darśanavarmaṇa* in the Nirmāṇḍ copper-plate inscription of Samudrasena.<sup>2</sup> In the present instance, even if we regard *varmaṇa* as a sheer mistake, the sense is clear.

The only point on which all the scholars seem to agree is that the type of script represented on the seal is what may rightly be termed as the Pallava-Grantha. Still there exists an uncertainty as to which stage in the development of the Pallava-Grantha is represented here. In the case of undated records, palaeography no doubt helps a good deal in guessing at their approximate date. The peculiar forms of the characters of the seal also offer such a study. Each character, as may be seen, contains a small dash on the top: they may thus be regarded as belonging to what is known as the 'box-headed' type. They possess an elegance of carving, which shows that they have passed the very primitive stage. Only the curve of medial short *i* points to the archaic type. This is perhaps what led Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels to date the seal about A.D. 400. Later, however, he revised his view and dated it about A.D. 600. Mr. Evans himself seems to favour this last date. Dr. Blagden says: "I have known a 'Pegu' (Burma) inscription, bearing date 1112-3 A.D., which had forms that were archaic and obsolescent in India more than seven centuries earlier. Barnett [Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum] says, 'the seal is older than the 9th century.

1 *Blidragen*, deel 74, 1918, facing p. 232, lines A. 1. 3.

2 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 289.

probably." He further remarks: "A.D. 400 is perhaps a bit early, but I am not prepared to say that it is impossible. Judging from Bühler's Plates in *Indian Palaeography*, there was not much change between 400 and about 750 A.D."<sup>1</sup> Prof. Nilakanta holds a similar view; for he states: "the writing on the seal is much later than 400 A.D."<sup>2</sup> The consensus of opinion thus goes in favour of A.D. 600 and even later. It is rather risky to draw any such conclusion from a comparison of the few characters of the seal. Apparently they compare equally well with those of Mūlavarman's inscriptions (c. A.D. 400) from Borneo and those of Bhadravarman's inscriptions (c. A.D. 400) from Campā on one hand, and with those of Mahendravarman I's inscriptions (c. A.D. 600-650) from South India on the other. What lends the inscription on the seal an archaic air, is the fashion of expressing the medial *i* by a superscribed curve, which is left open. It may, however, be remembered that this feature is not restricted only to ancient inscriptions. In later records, it is true, this curve has become so closed as to assume the appearance of a superscribed circle, still the former fashion is met with in certain documents of as late a date as A.D. 700. Regarding this point, I need simply refer to the observations made by Prof. Vogel in connexion with Mūlavarman's inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

As regards the interpretation of the legend, it was first rendered by the same Dutch authorities as "the most excellent armour of Viṣṇu." Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels at the same time observed that "the 'śri' certainly points to a king or a prince." Mr. Evans, though aware that this name was borne by several Pallava kings, remarks: "I had wondered, too, whether it might not be the ring of some commoner bearing an inscription with a talismanic significance."<sup>4</sup> Prof. Nilakanta says: "The proper place for the

1 *JFMSM.*, Vol. XV, pt. 3, pp. 89-90.

2 *JRASMB.*, Vol. XII, pt. II, p. 173.

3 *Bijdragen*, deel 74, pp. 228-9.

4 *JFMSM.*, Vol. XV, pt. 3, p. 111.

seal, wherever it may be, does not seem to belong to Pallava history." The name *śrīviṣṇuvarmaṇ* occurs in a grant\* of the Kadamba king Ravivarman.<sup>1</sup> The passage in question reads: *śrīviṣṇuvarmmaṇaprabhīṭin narendrān rihatya jītvā pṛthivīm sama [stāp]*. Since this is a statement of a victor with reference to the foes he has vanquished, one doubts whether the *śrī* here is an honorific or whether it constitutes a part of the name itself. This name has, however, not properly been identified. Dr. Fleet thought that it was possibly identical with Viṣṇugopa or Viṣṇugopavarman who was one of the Pallava kings of c. A.D. 340.<sup>2</sup> Mr. R. Gopalan, on the other hand, thinks that this Viṣṇuvarman was presumably a collateral cousin and descendant of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman (c. A.D. 500).<sup>3</sup> In any case, the present legend certainly means that the seal belonged to an individual named Śrī Viṣṇuvarman. One of the Baṣāḥ sealings bears the legend: *śrī ghaṭoṭkācaguptasya*. The individual featuring here has been identified with the Gupta king Ghaṭoṭkāca. In like manner the *śrī* and the *varman* in the present seal possibly refer to a royal personage. In my former paper referred to above I had identified this *śrī viṣṇuvarman* with the Śailendra king Viṣṇu that figures on one face of the Ligor inscription,<sup>4</sup> which is not dated, but is, in any case, anterior to A.D. 775. While there seems to be little objection to such a supposition, the topographical position of the two sites, Perak and Ligor, rather strengthens the same. It is thus with a firmer conviction that I offer the same identification again.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, 1927, pp. 29, 36.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50; Vol. VI, p. 30.

3 Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, 1928, p. 73.

4 BEFEO., Vol. XVIII, no. 6, pp. 1-36, Appendix no. 1, A & B, with two plates; *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1934, p. 12.

## The Celebes Bronze Buddha

By Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra.

Interest has recently been roused by the discovery of a large but broken standing bronze Buddha on the west coast of Celebes. It is said that the piece was found, more than twelve years ago, at the foot of a hillock on the bank of the Karam river near Sikendeng, but that it came to the notice of the authorities of Netherlands India only in 1933 when it was transported to the Batavia Museum. The find has given rise to systematic explorations in that part of the island; for it is hoped that more Indo-Aryan vestiges may come to light in Celebes, too, where nothing of the sort has so far been found. This circumstance invests the present specimen with special interest. Moreover it claims to be the largest bronze discovered so far both in Further India and in Indian Archipelago, though unfortunately it has not reached us entire. Its legs and hands are missing, and in this condition it measures 75 cm. in height. Its right shoulder is uncovered and the rhythmical folds of the garb are well-marked. As such it distinguishes itself from the Buddha bronzes of Java and Sumatra and points to a higher antiquity. It resembles the Buddha bronzes of Ceylon as well as of Amarāvati in South India. Dr. Bosch has made an exhaustive study (*Het bronzen Buddha-beeld van Celebes' Westkust in Tijdschrift Bat. Gen. LXXIII, 1933, pp. 495-513 with two plates*) of the present piece and is of opinion that it was probably exported from Amarāvati.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale (1933)** By G. Tucci and E. Ghersi, Royal Academy of Italy, Roma, 1934, pp. 395+272 illustrations + Index + a Map.

The Royal Academy of Italy has recently published the "Chronicle of Tucci's Scientific Expedition to Western Tibet during the summer of 1933" by G. Tucci and E. Ghersi.

The name of Tucci is well-known among Indian scholars and this new contribution of his to a more positive and scientific knowledge of Tibet both in its religious and archaeological aspects cannot but be widely appreciated.

As the title of the book indicates, this is the narrative of his journey throughout Western Tibet, the Gaje region, where Rin c'en bzang po chiefly performed his apostolic mission of introducing the Buddhist doctrines among his yet primitive brethren.

The vividness of the book pleasantly carries the reader along through the vicissitudes and adventures encountered by the authors. Dr. Ghersi accompanied Prof. Tucci both as a physician and as a photographic expert. Indeed the beauty of the illustrations which profusely enrich the book throughout, amply testifies to his merits.

For a closer and more scholarly study of all the documents and materials collected by Tucci during his expedition, the reader is referred to the third volume of the "*Indo-Tibetica*" which is to be published shortly by the Royal Academy of Italy. We must limit ourselves to a short summary of the book under notice.

On the 14th June 1933 the party reaches Sultanpur where several days are spent to get together the caravan and the victuals. On the 21st June with 24 horses and 17 men they are able to leave Sultanpur, aiming to reach the river Spiti through the Rohtang-la and Chandra valley. They reach the

bridge of Kelat in the afternoon and Manali on the following day. After the day's climbing they are on the Rothang mountain-pass which is some 12,000 feet high and then they redescend into the Chandra valley and point towards Losar which they reach on the 30th June. In one of the libraries of a private house Tucci finds an old xylograph of the epos of Kesar of gLin, the hero of the Tibetan epic. Through Kioto, in the old valley of the Spiti, they arrive at Kibar; in a private temple they discover some very interesting frescoes. From there, they proceed to Ki, to visit its famous monastery. They are kindly received by the monks there, the oldest of whom still remember the visit paid to them by Francke in 1909. They go then to the monastery of Kaze and reach Lithang on the 12th July. At Lhalung, in the valley of the Lingti, they see the temple, already visited by Shuttleworth, who, however failed properly to identify the sacred images there. There is a beautiful wooden image of Buddha of perfect Indian workmanship and Tucci succeeds in securing it. In Drangkher, the capital of the Spiti, they visit the various temples and take interesting photos of the frescoes. Through Po they reach Tabo, where there is the famous monastery founded by Rin c'en bzang po. The temple of Tabo is beautiful both for statues and frescoes and the visitors have ample opportunity for collecting manuscripts and carrying on researches there. They also explore all the Ciorten, taking note of the inscriptions. Through Chang and Nako, under the sky-high and snowy peaks of the Sulej, they go on wending their way towards Tashigang, an old priest receiving them, while they wait for the Skushok, re-incarnated from whom really emanates a spiritual superiority. Together with the Skushok, they visit the temple of Tashigang, where a *richien* (an ornament made with human bones and usually used for the ceremony called *ciod*) is zealously kept: indeed, this *richien* is of a superior artistic value for its inimitable carvings: and Tucci, who has already collected an ample literature on them, is only satisfied when he induces the Skushok to part with it. They pass Namgia, Shipki, Serkung, Tiak, Radnis, the birth-place of Rin

c'en bzän po. The temple of Rin c'en bzän po at Tiak still preserves the vestiges of its old splendour. Leaving the valley of the Sulej, they point to Miang, where they inspect the ruins of the castle and all the temples. At Nü they photograph the fine frescoes of its temples. After an inspection at Gampug they reach Dongbara on the 15th August. Through Karum-la they arrive at Luk, where the monastery and the frescoes of the temple capture the interest of the travellers. After passing Sumur Compa and Jangtang they reach the monastery of Rabgyeling, where they can study the three temples carefully. In Kyinipuk they find thousands of old ts'a ts'a and some interesting MSS. At Shangtze, the summer residence of the Governor of Tsaparang, they are received by the Governor himself most cordially. The temple of Shangtze is beautifully decorated with frescoes. They pass Laoche-la and through the valley of the Gartang, they reach Gartok. Here Tucci meets a very famous lama from Kham of the rDzogs c'en sect, who was the beloved disciple of the famous Palden devaghiazò. Naturally they become engaged in mystic speculations and are charmed with one another. After the mountain-pass of Bogola and through Dongbo and Drinsa, they reach Toling on the 17th September. Here they visit the monastery of Giortèn (in one of which they are told that some relics of Rin c'en bzän po are preserved). But in the high part of Toling they specially find some inestimable MSS. They are allowed to take photographs of the great temple built in the *Maṇḍala* shape and admire all the artistic and spiritual treasures that are collected there. The frescoes of the White Temple and of the sixteen Arhats' temples still show their artistic perfection, but the state of decay in which they are kept cannot but sadden the heart of an enthusiast like Tucci. In Tsaparang again the ancient frescoes of its temples and the castle seem a heap of ruins, although in their interior some valuable remains can still be found. After passing through Puling and Rildigang they come to Ri, the temple of which could once be compared to those of Toling and Tsaparang. On the 30th September they are in Sarang and

near Tinzam they cross the Sulej river for their return journey on the old route, having thus visited all the regions of the Guge or Western Tibet. Through Shipki, Dablung, Foo they reach Kanam, where, in one of its modest gompas lived and studied for a long time Caoma de Kérés to whose immortal memory Tucci has lovingly dedicated his present work. In China and Sungu, in the temples of Viṣṇu and Mahādeva, the influence of the Indian art is again the more evident though in a style which finds its amplest development in Nepal.

On the 2nd November the travellers reach Simla after a journey accomplished entirely on foot, through difficulties and privations, solely guided by their infinite longing to detect (and if possible to preserve to the world) some of the greatest monuments of Buddhist thought which otherwise would have been lost for ever.

C. RIAUDO.

**Archaeology in Gwalior** by M. B. Garde, B. A., Superintendent of Archaeology. Gwalior State : 2nd ed. 1934. pp. 151 + 34 plates + a map.

**A Guide to the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior**, Department of Archaeology. Gwalior : pp. 52 + 16 plates

These are the publications of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State which was created in 1913 by the late lamented Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao of Gwalior. They are an eloquent testimony not only to the enlightened interest of the Gwalior State in Archaeological work, but also to the unbounded energy and enthusiasm of the worthy Archaeological Superintendent Mr. M. B. Garde.

The first-named work consists of two parts. In Part I the author after giving a preliminary account of previous archaeological explorations in the State and the origin of the State Archaeological Service, passes in review the various activities of the Department under appropriate headings.

We learn (p. 5) that the Department during the first six years of its existence was occupied, very properly, with the preparation of a complete and up-to-date list of monuments, their number reaching the high figure of 3,000 (p. 33). This is followed by a brief but admirable survey of the ancient city-sites (such as Ujjayīni, Vidiśā, Padmavati and Daśapura) and of the monuments classified as Buddhist, Brahmanical, Jaina and Muhammadan and including works of civil as well as military architecture. Of equal interest is the list of the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions ranging from 2nd century B.C. to 15th century A.C. as well as that of Arabian and Persian inscriptions from the 14th to the 18th century.

The record of work done in the branch of numismatics is creditable as it comprises the examination of over 5,000 coins of all periods during the last five years. Coming to another branch, the author mournfully confesses that no excavation on a large scale has yet been attempted or is even contemplated in the near future. But he mentions the results of slight excavations that have been undertaken on a number of the most promising sites (such as Vidiśā, Sondni and Pawayā). The important work of conservation which was not commenced till 1920-21 has at last been undertaken in right earnest and its results are recorded in a long list of preserved monuments. Finally a word of praise is due for the fine collection of antiquities that are deposited in the State Museum at Gwalior.

Part II has the title of "A brief directory of important places of archaeological interest in the Gwalior State." It fully justifies its title by the thoroughness with which every antiquarian site is dealt with in a brief compass.

We have noticed a few minor inaccuracies (C/ for 'Hindu' for 'Brahmanical'—p. 11; 'Pāli' for 'Prākṛit'—p. 67, etc.). The value of the work has been enhanced by the inclusion of no less than 34 plates and an archaeological map of the Gwalior State at the end.

The *Guide to the Gwalior Archaeological Museum* is an equally useful publication, although an exhaustive catalogue of antiquities would have been more welcome. After

a brief prefatory account it gives us a bird's-eye view of the contents of the twenty-six rooms in which the collection is housed, along with such explanations as are needed for the general reader. It is interesting to observe that the inscription-room contains thirty-eight inscribed stones and eleven impressions of which those of Aśoka's Sāranath Pillar Edict and Heliodorus' inscription are particularly noticed. In the other rooms the antiquities are arranged on somewhat divergent principles. Sometimes antiquities of the same class (like pillar-capitals, Yakṣas and demi-gods, mother and child, Śiva and Pārvatī) are gathered together. At other times antiquities belonging to the same site (like Vidiśā, Padmāvati and Udayagiri), not to speak of the world-famed Bagh frescoes, are so gathered. While the latter grouping may justly be commended, a chronological arrangement of the former group would certainly have been preferable.



U. N. GHOSHAL.

## MISCELLANY

An interesting exhibition of Indian Architecture and allied arts and crafts was held at the Senate House of the Calcutta University from the 8th to the 15th February, 1935. The Exhibition, which was the first of its kind in Calcutta, was opened with an inspiring address by Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. The Greater India section was represented by a large number of drawings, photographs and antiquities lent by scholars and learned institutions both in and outside Bengal. Dr. Andreas Nell of Colombo sent a few photographs of ancient Ceylonese monuments, a few others representing Ceylonese rural crafts and two representing a modern building in Colombo reproducing Ancient Indian architectural features. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji exhibited a painted scroll from Bali representing the temptation of Arjuna as described in the Mahābhārata story. The Fine Arts Seminar of the Calcutta University exhibited large-sized photographs and drawings of Borobudur as well as of Angkor Thom, Angkor Wat and the Bayon. A number of Sinhalese, Nepalese, Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan antiquities was displayed by the Mahābodhi Society of Calcutta, while Messrs. Abdul Ali and Srish Chandra Chatterji exhibited specimens of Burmese lacquer-work and photographs of Siamese temples.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Greater India Society has pleasure in announcing that Mr. Himansu Bhushan Sarkar of the Dacca University is actively engaged in preparing a complete and up-to-date edition of Old-Javanese and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java with text, translation and notes. The work, which bears the title *Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum*, is expected to be ready for the Press by the middle of this year.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Greater India Society has profited, as in former years, by the generous donation of a sum of Rs. 500/- only

made this year by the National Council of Education, Bengal, for meeting its publication expenses. The Society conveys its sincere thanks to Sir P. C. Ray, President and Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, Vice-President, of the Council for their active assistance in this matter.

\* \* \* \* \*

Professor Giuseppe Tucci, Vice-President of the Royal Italian Institute of the Middle and the Far East, has offered for publication by the Greater India Society a work called "Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims to the Swät Valley". The Society has most gladly accepted the offer and it hopes to take up the publication at an early date.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thanks to the active support and keen interest of Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the Greater India Society is at last likely to have a *siège-social* in one of the rooms of the Asutosh Buildings of the Calcutta University. This will give the Society the opportunity of housing its collection of reference-books, reports, periodicals, etc., and making the same accessible to all earnest students of the subject.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Greater India Society gratefully acknowledges the patronage extended to its Journal last year by the Education Departments of Bengal, Assam and Bihar & Orissa by way of popularising it among the colleges within their respective jurisdictions.

Thanks of the Society are also due to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and the different archaeological circles as well as the Government Epigraphist for India for the interest they have shown by subscribing to copies of the Society's Journal.

\* \* \* \* \*

The enlightened governments of Their Highnesses the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, the Maharaja of Travancore, the Maharaja of Mysore, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior as well as the Maharaja Holkar of Indore have likewise deserved the gratitude of the Greater India Society by making its

Journal available to the colleges, public libraries and Archaeological Departments in their respective States.

\* \* \* \* \*

During the last half-year the Greater India Society has had the opportunity of coming into close contact with a number of learned Societies both in and outside India. Among these special mention may be made of the Madras Government Museum (Madras), the Varendra Research Society (Rajshahi), the Mythic Society (Bangalore), the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst, (Berlin), l'École Française d'Extrême Orient (Hanoi), Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, (Batavia), the Chinese Academy of Buddhist Learning, (Nanking), the Java Institute (Jogjakarta), all of which along with the Editor, Indian Historical Quarterly have placed the Journal of the Greater India Society on their exchange-list. The Sino-Indian Institute (Peiping) has also signified its willingness to co-operate with the Society.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Greater India Society welcomes the promising young scholar, Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra of the Punjab, who has just returned to India after taking his Doctorate Degree from the University of Leiden. His thesis bearing the title the *'Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during the Pallava Rule'* has just been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge, 10 Jahrg. 1-2, 3-4,  
heft, 1934.

STEFAN BALAZS.—*Die Inschriften der Sammlung Baron von der Heydt* (pp. 24-29 and 80-90)—Notice of eight inscriptions dating mostly from the sixth or seventh century and mostly belonging to the category of Buddhist sacred steles.

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER.—*Die Anfänge der buddhistischen Plastik in China*: (pp. 1-15 and 107-126)—Preface. I—The Southern Route: India, Further India and South China. II—The Northern Route: North India and Gandhāra, Central Asia, North China and South China: III—Conclusion: The author concludes that the penetration of Buddhism into China was a fact of extraordinary importance as it brought the idea of the existence and value of Plastic art into China.

U. N. G.

*Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van  
Nederlandsch-Indië*, Dool 62, aflevering 2.

W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen* (pp. 181-210). In the course of these archaeological notes the writer draws attention to a sorely damaged sculpture discovered at Singhasāri, bearing an inscription dated in the Śaka year 1254. The female statue flanked by Bhairava and Ganeśa figures is identified by him with a Tāntric aspect of Durgā, while the same has been supposed by Dr. Bosch to represent a Buddhist deity called Guhyeśvari. Another sculpture points to the year 1049 as the time of king Erlangga's death. The much discussed term *Veprakṣocara*, according to Dr. Stutterheim, refers to a burial place of a royal personage.

B. C. C.

*Ojawa*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1934.

- R. N. DR. POERBATJARAKA EN DR. G. HOOYKAAS.—*Bhārata-yuddha* (pp. 1-67). Introduction—The lineage of the Bhāratas—Analysis of contents of fifty-two cantos, with notes. Index of proper names—Metres.

U. N. G.

*Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 2 and 3, 1934.

- A. STEINMANN.—*Enkele opmerkingen betreffende de Plant-ornamenten van Mantingan* (pp. 89-97)—Gives with illustrations botanical identifications of the plants depicted on the panels and medallions of Ratoe Kalinimat's mausoleum at Mantingan, a place to the south of Djapāra recognising Hindu and Chinese elements in the style.

*Ibid.*, Nos. 4, 5 and 6, 1934.

- W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*De oudheden-collectie Resink-wilgens te Jogjakarta* (pp. 167-197)—A descriptive catalogue of a private collection comprising a number of fine specimens of images, both in stone and metal, and *pūjā* implements, belonging to Buddhism and Brahmanism.

B. C. C.

*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*,  
Deel LXXIV, afleveringen 2-4, 1934.

- W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Een Vrij overzetter te Wanagiri (M.N.) in 903 A.D.* (pp. 269-295)—A duplicate set of copper-plates has been discovered near Wanagiri (Soerakarta) written in Mid-Javanese script. They contain an order issued by Śrī Mahārāja Rake Watu Kura Dyah Balitung Śrī Dharmodayamahāsambhu to the Raka of Wōlar to construct a ferry in the year 903 A.D. The writer further discusses the titles and facts known from several other inscriptions of the same king Balitung.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, periodicals, reports, pamphlets etc.

1. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin: (Neue Folge—9 Jahrg. 5 Heft 1933; 10th Jahrg. 1 & 2 Heft 1934; *ibid.*, 3 & 4 Heft: *ibid.*, 5 Heft).
2. *Djaia*, Jogjakarta: (14e Jaargang No. 1, Jan. 1934; *ibid.*, Nos. 2 & 3, June 1934).
3. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi:
4. *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale (1934)*—By G. Tucci and E. Ghesi, Rome, 1934.
5. *Die Inschriften der Sammlung Baron von der Heydt*: By Stefan Balász, Berlin: (Reprint from *Ost. Zeit.*).
6. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta: (Vol. IX, Nos. 3 & 4, Vol. X, No. 4).
7. *Bulletins of the Madras Government Museum, Madras*:  
 (a) *Three main styles of temple-architecture recognized by the Silpaśāstras*: By F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran.  
 (b) *Tiruparuttikumram and its temples*: By T. N. Ramachandran.
8. *Buddha Prabhā*, Bombay, Vol. 2, No. 4, Vol. 3, No. 1.
9. *Yoga*, Balaar, Vol. 2, No. 12.
10. *Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the 13th-15th centuries*. By S. Paranavitana, Colombo: (Reprint from the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch RAS*).
11. *Buddhism in a nut-shell*: By Bhikkhu Nārada, Bambalapitiya.
12. *Columbia University Quarterly*, New York, (September, 1934).
13. *The Attack on Liberalism*: By Murray Butler, New York (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).
14. *Archæology in Gwalior*: By M. B. Garde, Gwalior, 1934.
15. *A Guide to the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior*, Department of Archaeology, Gwalior.
16. Nos. 1 to 4 of the *Journal* published by the Chinese Academy of Buddhist Learning, Nanking, China. [In Chinese].
17. *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society for 1932-34*, Rajshahi.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Silver Jubilee Number—July-October, 1934) Bangalore, January 1935.
19. *Young Asia*, Rome: (Vol. I, No. 1, March 1934).
20. *The Cofas*: By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras, (Madras University Historical Series No. 9).

## JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

### SELECT OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

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THE  
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THE JOURNAL  
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Vol. II

JULY, 1935

No. 2

Contributions from the *Mahāvamsa*  
to our Knowledge of the Mediaeval  
Culture of Ceylon.

By Dr. Wilh. Geiger.

It is easy to understand that the priestly compilers of the *Mahāvamsa* had a bias to ecclesiastical things and often omitted or suppressed facts which are of the greatest interest to a modern reader. Nevertheless the *Mahāvamsa* is still our best and most reliable source for the knowledge of Sinhalese history and civilisation. If we try to describe the mediaeval period, we have to refer to the oldest portion of the so-called *Cūlavamsa*—*Mhvs.* 37, 51-79, 84. (Cf. *IHQ.*, VI, 1930, p. 206). This part of the chronicle covers the whole period from the end of the fourth century A. C. to the twelfth century A. C. and is composed by Dhammakitti. The hero most highly praised by the poet is King Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186 A. C.). The story of his life and deeds (chs. 62-79) forms more than a half of Dhammakitti's compilation. The chapters 37 to 61 must be regarded as an ample introduction to the "Epic of Parakkama" (Cf. Copleston, *JRAS.*, Ceylon Branch, XIII, no. 44 (1843), pp. 60 sq. The era of Parakkama represents the acme of the mediaeval civilisation of Ceylon

and what we have to say in the following pages chiefly bears on that era. The account of the chronicle referring to it may be said to be fairly reliable since Dhammakitti finished his work a short time after the king's death and therefore knew things and events from his own experience. What he relates in the first half of his compilation serves as a supplement and sometimes elucidates the historical developments. Errors and anachronisms may occur in these chapters.

We must also not overlook the second part of the *Cūlavamsa* (chs. 79, 85-90, 102; 1186-1333 A.C.) the favourite hero of which is Parakkamabāhu II (1225-1269 A. C.) so that the whole mediaeval period of Sinhalese history extends from about 362 to 1333 A. C. The author of this portion of the chronicle and the exact date of its compilation are unknown; probably we have to assign it to the 14th or 15th century.

I need not add that the mediaeval Sinhalese inscriptions are of great importance as contemporaneous reports, which often enable us to check and to supplement the statements of the chronicle. On the other hand the secondary Sinhalese books like *Pāḷaśāliya* (13th century), *Rājaraśnākaraṇa* (16th century) and *Rājāśāliya* are of comparatively little value, as they have the character of extracts and attend not much to general civilisation but chiefly to chronology and church history.

## I. THE KING AND THE ROYAL COURT

### (1) *The King and his family.*

1. The form of Government in Ceylon was, as almost everywhere in India, absolute. The king was the culminating point of the pyramid which represents the state, and the centre of political life. What I have to say about the position of the king and the royal family in mediaeval Ceylon is partly extracted from and partly added to the introduction of my translation of *Cūlavamsa* I, pp. xv sqq.

Besides the word *rājan* all the names and titles exist for the king which we meet with in the Sanskrit literature. Some of them are somewhat bombastic and grandiose for the ruler of a comparatively small island like Ceylon. He may not only be given the title "Great King" (*mahārāja*), but also "Ruler of the Kings" (*rājādhirāja*) or "Lord of the earth" (*mahipati*, etc.), even if he has never conquered any kingdom outside Lañkā. Frequently the king is styled *deva* 'God' as in Sanskrit. The title approximately corresponds to our 'Majesty'.

2. It is often emphasised in the *Mahāvamsa* that the kings of Ceylon are scions of the *suriya-vamsa*, the Solar Dynasty. Vijaya, the first king, came according to the tradition from Sihapura, the capital of Kalinga, and was the son of king Sihabāhu. The royal dynasty of Kalinga boasts of its descent from the Solar line. Ratanūvalī, the mother of Parakkamabāhu I, was a daughter of the Kalinga princess Tilokasundarī (*Mhv.* 59.29) and is called (63.11) an ornament of the Sun-dynasty (*ādiccavaya*). Some of the Sinhalese kings sprang from the Lambakanna clan. This was the case in ancient times with King Vasabha with his son and grandson (2d century) and the last five kings of the so-called Superior Dynasty (*mahāvamsa*) Samphatissa, Samphabodhi and Gothakābhaya with his two sons Jetthatissa and Mahāsena (*Mhv.* 35.59, 36.58 sq.). In the mediaeval period Silākāla was a Lambakanna (*Mhv.* 39.44). It seems that this clan was a branch of the royal family and (like it) of the Solar line. Mogallāna, the son of Dhātusena and afterwards (496-513 A. C.) king of Ceylon, is expressly called (*Mhv.* 39.46) a kinsman (*āṭaka*) of Silākāla. Other Sinhalese kings were scions of the Moriya clan, as in the 5th century was Dhātusena (*Mhv.* 38.13-35) the father of Kassapa I and Moggallāna I. and in the 6th century was Mahānāga (41.69-70) with his son Aggabodhi I. and grandson Aggabodhi II. This clan, too, probably belonged to the Solar race. According to the Indian tradition *Ikṣvāku* (*P. Oṅkāṣa*) stands at the head of the Solar dynasty, but in the

*Mahāvamsa* (2, 1 sq.) and other Buddhist sources many kings are enumerated before Išvāku. The first of them is Mahāsammata. We understand therefore that in the *Mhvs.* Okkāka is called the ancestor of some Sinhalese kings and Mahāsammata of others. It is said (*Mhvs.* 99, 77) that at the time of Kittisirīrāsasiha in the second half of the 16th century the chronicle contained the history of all the kings from Mahāsammata up to the rulers residing in Hatthiśelapura (now Kurunāgala), i.e. up to the beginning of the 14th century. Mānavamma, about 700, is called a descendant of Mahāsammata; Mahātissa, ruler of Rohaṇa and father of king Dappula I (7th century), and Sāhassamalla are called descendants of Okkāka (*Mhvs.* 47, 2; 45, 38; 80, 32).

In their inscriptions Sinhalese kings often boast of their descent from the Solar dynasty. Parakkamabāhu I says in the Galvihāra inscription that he has come in unbroken succession from Mahāsammata born of the Solar race (Ed. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, no. 137, l. 5; *Epigraphia Zeylanica* II, p. 268<sup>1</sup>). King Mahinda IV (936-972 A.C.) says in the Mihintale tablets (*AIC.*, no. 121 A, Ep.Z. I, p. 91A<sup>1</sup>) that his father Abhaya Salamevan, i.e. Kassapa V is descended from an unbroken line of kings of the Okkāka family. The same descent is pretended by Nissanka Malla (1187-1196 A.C.) in several inscriptions and he calls himself a star on the forehead of the family of the Sun (*AIC.*, no. 145, 147, 148; Ep.Z. II, p. 78<sup>1</sup>, 109<sup>2</sup> &c).

3. In a very interesting paper published in the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (section G, II, p. 235 sq., 1933) S. Paranavitana has shown that matrilineal descent was often decisive, at least at a certain period of time. Gajabāhu (1137-1153) is considered to belong to the Kālīṅga stock (*Kālīṅgagotta-sambhūta-G*<sup>2</sup>, *Mhvs.* 63, 8), though neither his father nor his grandfather were scions of the Kālīṅga dynasty. But his mother Sundarī and his grandmother Tilokasundarī were Kālīṅga princesses. Parakkamabāhu I himself cannot trace his Solar descent on paternal side; for his father Mānābharaṇa<sup>1</sup> was the son of Vijayabāhu's sister Mittā,<sup>1</sup> who had

married a Pāṇḍu prince of the Moon Dynasty, but belonged herself to the Solar line as well as Parakkamabāhu's mother Ratanāvali (see above).

Sirivallabha after the death of his brother Mānābharāṇa<sup>2</sup> wishes to marry his and Ratanāvali's daughter Mittā<sup>2</sup> to his own son Mānābharāṇa<sup>2</sup> (*Mhus.* 63.6 sq.). But Ratanāvali refuses her consent, because Mānābharāṇa<sup>2</sup> is of *ariya-varṇa* and therefore not of equal birth. Parānavitana is certainly right that this does not refer to the fact that the wooer's grandfather, the consort of Mittā<sup>2</sup>, was a Pāṇḍu prince, for the Pāṇḍus belong to the Lunar line, the scions of which were always considered to be of equal birth with those of the Solar race (*Mhus.* 63. 14). But Sugālā the mother of the wooer, was the grand daughter of Līlāvatī, the consort of Jagatipāla who had come from Northern India, Ayodhyā (*Mhus.* 56. 13). He was probably a Rājput. His daughter Yaśodharā and Yaśodharā's daughter Sugālā belonged to the same caste. The Rājputa are called Āriya in Southern India, and here this name is applied to them by no means with the same respect that they enjoy in their own country. The *ariya-varṇa* was not believed to be equal to the *auriya* or *soma-varṇa*. In spite of Ratanāvali's opposition the marriage of Mittā<sup>2</sup> with Mānābharāṇa<sup>2</sup> was consummated.

We meet however at the same time also with patrilineal instances. Thus Mānābharāṇa, the father of Parakkamabāhu I, says: "We are sprung from the pure Moon-dynasty" *suddhe somavarṇasamhi abhijātā mayam*, (*Mhus.* 62.5), apparently because his father was a Pāṇḍu. Līlāvatī, Parakkamabāhu I's queen, is called (*Mhus.* 80. 50) an offspring of the Moon and Sun family (*candādiccaḷūḍitā*). She was the daughter of Sirivallabha, Mānābharāṇa's youngest brother, and belonged to the Solar line on the maternal side by her grand-mother Mittā<sup>2</sup> and to the Lunar race on the paternal side by her grand-father the Pāṇḍu prince who was Mittā's husband.

I have to add a few words about the differentiation of a superior and an inferior dynasty (*Mahāvamsa* and

*Cūlavamsa*) in Ceylon (Cf. *Rājāvalīga*, tr. by B. Guṇasekara, p. 52). The last king of the so-called superior dynasty was Mahāsena, the first one of the inferior dynasty Sirimeghavagga. But the latter was the son of the former and it is nowhere said that he was not a legitimate son. How can we explain, therefore, the gap between the two kings? I think that differentiation was a later invention based on a false interpretation of the word *Mahāvamsa*. As the title of the epic, it does not mean the great dynasty but simply 'the great chronicle'. The more ancient name is according to the *Tikā* (p. 1837, 5021) *padypapadūru-vamsa* which cannot be otherwise translated than as 'versified great chronicle' and does certainly not allude to a dynasty. In contradistinction to that name the later portions of the work were often, but not always, called *Cūlavamsa* 'the little chronicle'. The word *vamsa*, chronicle, frequently occurs in the names of books, as in *dīpavamsa* 'the chronicle of the Island', *thūpavamsa* 'the chronicle of the thūpas', *bodhivamsa* 'the chronicle of the Bodhi tree', &c.

4. It was believed that peculiar marks (*lakṣhaṇāni*) were visible on the body of a prince who was to become a great and mighty monarch. Kitti who afterwards conquered the Cojas and ruled Ceylon (1059-1114 A.C.) under the name of Vijayabāhu I was, as a distinguished soothsayer stated immediately after his birth, *dhaññalakkhaṇasampanna* 'possessing bodily marks of future good fortune' (*Mhes.* 57.49). The same is said of his son Vikkamabāhu who became king in the year 1116 after the short reign of his uncle Jayabāhu I (*Mhes.* 59.32). Nay, the mother of a future prominent king was furnished with such *lakṣhaṇāni*. We are told (*Mhes.* 59.34 sq.) that one day Vijayabāhu who was versed in signs (*lakṣhaṇāṇi*) gazed on each of his daughters born of Queen Tilokasandari, but he perceived on none of them except on Ratanāvali the sign of the birth of a son himself furnished with auspicious marks. And he kissed her and predicted: 'this thy body shall be the place for the birth of a son who will surpass all former and future monarchs in glorious qualities'. Ratanāvali's son was Para-

kkamabāhu I. and the days of his conception and his birth were distinguished by many extraordinary signs and marvellous events. The house priest and the brāhmaṇas after carefully observing all the marks on the hands and feet of the new-born boy announced to the King and the Queen that apart from the island of Laṅkā he would be able to unite under one umbrella and to rule even the whole of Jambudvīpa (*Mhvs.* 62. 12 sq.; 37 sq.). The umbrella (*P. chatta*, Sinh. *sata*) is the symbol of sovereignty, and the kings of Ceylon when dating one of their inscriptions generally reckon it from the year in which they "have raised the umbrella". Cf. *tumā sat lāṅgū sa/soṣaṇa haṇuradugehi* "in the sixteenth year after he raised *lāṅgū* = *P. laṅghita*) the royal umbrella." (*A I C.* nos. 121A.<sup>3-4</sup>; *Ep.Z.* I, p. 9) A<sup>2</sup>, 10th c.).

5. The consecration of a new king, *abhīṣeka*, (*moli-maṅgala*) was a ceremony which used to be performed with great pomp in the most solemn manner. The things needful for the ceremony are the royal ornaments, the diadem, the umbrella and the throne (*alaṅkāra-kiriṭāni chettasīhāsenāni ca. Mhvs.* 56.3); a *pāsāda*, probably a hall is mentioned (*ibid.*, 59.2) to have been erected for the purpose.

The *abhīṣeka* was performed when the government of the new king appeared to be firmly established. In connection with this rule sometimes a second consecration took place after a great political success. Parakkamabāhu I was consecrated at the instance of the dignitaries the first time when he ascended the throne after king Gaṇabāhu (*Mhvs.* 71.28) though at that time his succession was opposed by his cousin Mānābharaṇa. A second *abhīṣeka* was held in the most splendid form after Mānābharaṇa's death (*Mhvs.* 72.311 sq.). Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271 A. C.) was also consecrated twice, the first time when he succeeded his father (*Mhvs.* 82. 2.). The second *abhīṣeka* took place when the king had already abdicated, and an honorary ceremony was arranged by his son Vijayabāhu IV after the reconstruction of the capital Pulatthinagara or Polonnaruwa (*Mhvs.* 89. 10). It is how-

ever remarkable that the coronation of Vijayabāhu I (1059-1114 A. C.) was held in Anurādhapura (*Mhvs.* 5<sup>c</sup>. 8) after he had conquered the Colas, though he took up his residence in Pulatthinagara (59. 10). At that time Anurādhapura was still considered as the sacred ancient capital of the kingdom.

Mahinda I (724-727 A. C.), as an exception, never underwent the *abhiśeka* ceremony (*Mhvs.* 48. 26 sq., 31). He therefore did not accept the title king, but remained *ādipāda* (Sinh. *āpā*).

6. In the *Mahāvamsa-Tīkā*, (Col. ed., pp. 213-14) there is an interesting passage which contains a description of the *abhiśeka*. Since the work is certainly composed before the middle of the 13th century (*cf.* Geiger, *Dipavamsa und Mahāvamsa*, p. 37), its author could have a knowledge of the *abhiśeka*, as it was performed in the mediaeval era, and of the traditions connected with it. The ceremony took place, we are told, in a hall constructed of *adumbara* wood (*ficus glomerata*). The *khattiya* who was to be consecrated was sitting on a throne made of the same kind of wood. First a maiden of the warrior clan (*khattiyakāññā*) took with both hands a marine shell which was filled with water from the Ganges river and the spiral of which was winding to the right, poured water on the king's head and said: "Oh Majesty, all the clans of the warrior caste make thee for their own protection and security by this consecration a consecrated king; rule thou with justice and peace persisting in the law, be thou one who has a compassionate heart towards those of the warrior clans, who are filled with sorrows about their sons and the like, and one who has a kind and peaceful and friendly heart, and be thou guarded by their protection, defence and ward." Then the domestic chaplain (*parohita*) of the royal court, attired in his richest apparel, poured water on the king's head from a silver shell with the same words only substituting 'brāhmaṇa clans' for 'warrior clans'—finally the foreman of the guilds (*Seṭṭhi*) in his official garb performed the same ceremony

for the householder class (*gahapati-gaṇā*), using a jewel shell (*ratana-saṅkhā*).

According to the *Tikā* in the address of the three persons a curse is implied: "If thou wilt rule in the manner as we said, well,—but if thou dost not do so, thy head will split into seven pieces."

As the *Tikā* tells us in agreement with the *Mahāvamsa*, the *abhiśeka* was introduced in the second half of the third century B. C., in the time of King Devānampiyatissa. He was the friend of King Asoka, although they had never seen each other. Asoka sent his friend all the things needful for the ceremony (cf. *Mhvs.* II, 28-36) and entreated him to perform it in the manner which was customary in India. The Sinhalese kings were consecrated even before that time, but the ceremony was simple and unpretentious. The ancient kings, as it is said in the *Tikā*, only reigned with a new sceptre (*kevalaṃ navayattīyā rajjaṃ hāresuṃ*). Devānampiyatissa himself was first consecrated in this manner, but his second consecration took place according to the more solemn rite. The historical kernel of the whole tradition may be the fact that the mediaeval *abhiśeka* in Ceylon was an imitation of the Indian ceremony.

7. The new king often or perhaps regularly adopted a new name when he ascended the throne. Dāthasiya (7th cent.) calls himself Dāthopatiṣṣa (*Mhvs.* 44, 128), Hatthadātha assumes the same name (45, 22). Kittī's name after the accession to the throne is Vijayabāhu (58, 1). It is said (54, 10) that King Mahinda IV (956-72 A. C.) had two sons. Their names were (54, 57-58) Sena and Udaya. Sena V, Mahinda's successor, made his brother Udaya *yuvarāja*. But in 55, 1 Sena's brother and successor is called Mahinda. I believe that this was the name adopted by Udaya when he ascended the throne. Mahinda V's son was Kassapa (55, 23). When he came to the throne, the Sihalas gave him the name of Vikramabāhu (56, 1). Even in ancient times Goṭhabhaya (4th cent. A. C.) assumed the name Meghavaṇṇabhaya (36, 98). The surname Sirisaṃgha-

bodhi was for the first time assumed by Aggabodhi III (7th cent.) (44. 83), no doubt in honour of the pious king of the Lambakanna clan bearing this name who lived in the 4th cent. A.D. As Aggabodhi's predecessor was Silāmeghavanna, in the sequel these two epithets were used alternatively so that when a king bears the surname Sirisamphabodhi, his successor calls himself Silāmeghavanna and conversely (Wickremasinghe, *Ep. Z. II*, p. 9). In inscriptions the kings often mention only their surname so that the dating becomes sometimes difficult, as so many Sirisamphabodhis and Silāmeghavannas exist in the list of the Sinhalese kings.

8. The title of the king's consort was *mahesi* (Sk. *mahisi*, Sinh. *mehesiga*), and she was addressed *devī*. In the *abhiśeka* ceremony the queen acted an important rôle, nay it seems that since ancient times the existence of a *mahesi* is presupposed in the ceremony. Already Vijaya is said to have declined the *abhiśeka* without a *khattiyakāññā* as *mahesi* (*Mhus.* 7. 47). But it was the king himself who, probably after his own consecration, consecrated the queen. The phrase is always like this: Sena Sampham mahesiṭṭe (*mahesibhāve*) *abhiśecayi* (*abhiśiṭṭi*, *thapesi*) (*Mhus.* 51. 6, 59. 25, etc.). There were, as a rule, in the mediaeval period two *mahesis* (cf. A. N. Hocart, *C. J. Sc.* 1. 205, II. 34). This seems to have been an ancient custom. Anulādevī and Somadevī were the queens of King Vajragāmanī (1st cent. B. C.) (*Mhus.* 33. 45-46). The two queens of Vijayabāhu I (1059-1114 A. C.) were Lilāvati<sup>1</sup> and Tilokasundarī (59. 25, 29), those of Parakkamabāhu I—Rūpavati and Lilāvati<sup>2</sup>. The former was the daughter of his paternal uncle Kittisirimegha (*Mhus.* 73. 136 sq., the note 1 in my *Cūlavamsa* tr. II, p. 17 is wrong), the latter of his other uncle Sirivallabha (80. 31). Nissanka Malla mentions in one of his inscriptions as his *aggamahesi* the Kāliṅga princess Subhadrā, in the Galpota two *aggamahesis* Subhadrā and Kalyānā of the Gaṅga-vamśa (*AIC.*, nos. 145, 148 B. 2-3; *Ep. Z. II*, p. 106, B') Rulers of Rohaṇa who never became kings of Laṅkā also

seem to have had two queens. Those of the younger Mānābharāṇa<sup>7</sup> were Mittā and Pabbavati, the sisters of Parakkamabāhu I. They are however not called *maheśi*, but simply *devī* and *duṭṭiyā devī* (*Mhcs.* 64.19, 24); the title *maheśi* apparently depends on the solemn consecration.

From the title *aggamaheśi* ('highest *maheśi*') we may infer that there was a difference of rank between the two queens, and this will indeed have been the case in ancient times. But we have seen that already at the time of Nisanka Malla both queens bore the title *aggamaheśi*, and Candavati, Parakkamabāhu I's widow, calls herself in an inscription (*Ep. Z.* II. 241<sup>10</sup>) *duṭṭiyāṃ aggatoṃ gaṭā*, who has attained to the position of the second *agga* (*maheśi*). Concerning Narindasīha and Vijayarājasīha (18th century) the chronicle tells us that they brought royal princesses from Madhurā and made them highest *maheśis* (*kaṭvā aggamaheśiya*, *Mhcs.* 97. 24, 98. 4).

9. It is a matter of course that for the king's marriage political considerations were never neglected and often became decisive. According to the tradition in *Mhcs.* 7.48 sqq., the first king of Ceylon fetched the daughter of the Pāṇḍu king from Madhurā to consecrate her as his queen. The Pāṇḍya kingdom is nearly co-extensive with the present districts of Madura and Tinnevely in Southernmost India (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 335), separated from Ceylon by the Gulf of Mannar. Political relations between the Sinhalese and the Pāṇḍus are, therefore, well intelligible. The Pāṇḍus were often the adversaries of the Sinhalese, invading the island and pillaging towns and villages (*Mhcs.* 50.12 sq., 51. 27 sq., 9th cent.) or they were assisted by the Sinhalese in wars against the Colas (52.70 sq., 10th cent., 76. 76 sq., 12th cent.). But we hear little of intermarriage between the two dynasties in the mediaeval era. Vijayabāhu I first gave his sister Mittā<sup>1</sup> away in marriage to a Pāṇḍu prince. He seems to have resided in Ceylon; the three sons of the wedded couple were living in Rohaṇa

(*v.* above). More frequent becomes the union of the Sinhalese royal family with the Paṇḍu line in modern times. Rājastha II (1635-87 A. C.) is said to have fetched kings' daughters from Madhurā to Ceylon (*Mhus.* 96. 40) probably as wives for his dignitaries. Vimaladhammasuriya II (1687-1707) made a Paṇḍu princess his consort (97. 2), and the same is related concerning his two successors Narindastha and Vijayarājastha (*v.* above 8).

The relations with the royal family of Kālīṅga are of greater importance. Vijaya's grandmother was a Kālīṅga princess, and the capital of Kālīṅga, Sīhapura, was founded by his father Sīhabāhu (*Mhus.* 6. 1 sq.). Ratanāvalī, who herself is called a Kālīṅgi, says "After the prince, named Vijaya, had slain all the Yakkhas and made this island of Lankā habitable for men, since then one has allied the family of Vijaya with ours by union with actions of the Kālīṅga line already in former times" (63. 12-13). And her cousin Sirivallabha says: Princes of the Kālīṅga dynasty have many times and oft attained to dominion in this island of Lankā (63. 7). Mahinda IV (956-972 A. C.) had as *mahesi* a Kālīṅga princess named Kittī and founded thus the royal house of the Sīhalas. Two sons were born of her, Sena and Udaya. Both became kings after him (54. 9-10, 50, 57; 55. 1; *cf.* 7). We have seen above that Vijayabāhu I's consort and Vikramabāhu II's consort were Kālīṅgis; Gajabāhu is called (63. 8) an offspring of the Kālīṅga line. Nissanka Malla and Maṅga (1211-1235 A. C.) were Kālīṅgas (80. 58).

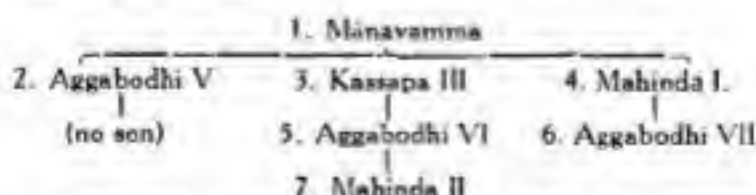
Often a new king marries the widow of his predecessor. Such marriages too have generally political reasons. The new king wishes to prevent the forming of an opposition at court. Already Vattagāmaṇi's first *mahesi* Anulā had been the wife of his brother Khallātanaṅga (33. 36). In mediaeval times Mahinda II (772-792 A. C.) married the queen of his predecessor Aggabodhi VII. She was an outrageous woman, and he made her his consort merely to keep her under his control, or as the *Mahāvamsa* (48. 113) says, because she could neither be

set free nor slain (*poricattum ca māretum na saḥkō' yam*). Mahinda V (981-1017 A. C.) also made the widow of his elder brother and predecessor Sena V his *mahesti* and when she died, shortly after he married her daughter (*Mhus.* 55.8-9). The story of Mahānāma (beginning of the 5th cent.) is somewhat different. The consort of his elder brother Upatissa had murdered her husband out of amorous passion for the younger brother Mahānāma and became his queen when he ascended the throne (37.209 sq.)

10. As to the *right of succession* I refer to what I have said in *Cūlavamsa* tr. I. p. xx-xxi. The succession is exclusively in the paternal line. After the death of Vijayabāhu I his younger brother Jayabāhu became king in the year 1114. This accession was undisputed, but presently the eldest son of Jayabāhu's sister claimed to be the heir to the throne. As the *Mhcs.* 61. 4 adds, thereby the path of former custom was quitted, for the prior right of succession was on the side of Vijayabāhu's son Vikkambāhu who indeed ascended the throne after Jayabāhu's premature death and maintained it in the war with Mānābharaṇa and his two brothers.

When a king died, not his son but "the next younger brother succeeded him on the throne. Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation."

A genealogical table describing the sequence of Mānavamma's sons and grandsons in the 8th cent. illustrates this custom:—



There are frequent instances of such a sequence. Sena II (851-885 A. C.) had three younger brothers. The

eldest of them Mahinda died before him. Sena's successor is, therefore, (1) the next brother *Udaya* II and then (2) *Kassapa* IV. After *Kassapa*'s death the next generation takes its turn. First succeed the sons of Sena according to their age: (3) *Kassapa* V, (4) *Dappula* III, (5) *Dappula* IV, and after them the sons of Mahinda: (6) *Udaya* III, (7) *Sena* III, and (probably) (8) *Udaya* IV. Sena's youngest brothers *Udaya* II and *Kassapa* IV seem to have left no legitimate heirs, or their offspring have become extinct in the meantime. Thus after *Udaya* IV's death the sons of *Kassapa* V, (9) *Sena* IV and (10) *Mahinda* IV, come to the throne. It must be added that with regard to *Kassapa* V and *Sena* IV it is expressly stated in the *Mhvs.* 52.37, 54.1 that they became kings in regular succession (*hamagata*), that is according to the existing law.

Deviations sometimes occur from the regular sequence. At the beginning of the 9th century three brothers were reigning, one after the other in regular succession: *Mahinda* III, *Aggabodhi* VIII, *Dappula* II. Now *Mahinda*'s likenamed son was by right heir to the throne, but *Dappula* wished to reserve the royal dignity to his own son (*Mhvs.* 49.84). This was a breach of the law. The young *Mahinda* betook himself, full of resentment, to India. He was afterwards killed by agents of King *Sena* I, the second son of *Dappula* (50.4).

11. The education of the princes (*rājaputtā*), and chiefly of the heir to the throne, included training in sports and practice of arms as well as mental development. We are told (*Mhvs.* 64.2 sq.) that the young Prince *Parakkama-bāhu* was instructed not only in the art of driving the elephant and in the lore of manipulation of the bow, the sword and other weapons, but also in dance and song. Moreover he studied the sacred books of the Buddhist faith, and the works on politics (*niti*) as that of *Koṭalla* (i. e. *Kauṣalya*'s *Arthasastra*). Grammar (*saddaṭṭha*), poetry (*kāvya*), knowledge of the vocabularies (*nighaṇḍu*) and of the ritual (*keṭubha*) were also objects of his educa-

tion. This system is in conformity with the ideal of princely education in India. We do not know, however, whether or not it was applied in full measure to Parakkama-bāhu. But the compiler of the chronicle who was well-versed in Indian literature wishes to adorn his favourite hero with all the virtues of a prominent king.

12. The title of the royal prince was *āḍipāda*, that is one who has the first post, who marches in front. It is remarkable that the title is not met with in the old *Mahāvamsa* nor in the most modern portions of the chronicle after chapter 79. It is confined to the part compiled by Dhammakitti and it therefore belongs to the mediaeval period exclusively. The word first occurs in the 6th cent. *Silakāla* (*Mhus.* 41. 33-35) bestowed the rank of *āḍipāda* on his eldest son Moggallāna and handed over to him the Eastern Province (*pūratthimadesa*). It seems that at this time *āḍipāda* was the same as heir to the throne. But already under Udaya I (792-97 A.C.), probably even earlier, all the royal princes were called *āḍipāda* (49.3) and the title frequently is joined to the name, like Udayo *āḍipādo*, Kittagabodhiti *āḍipādo* ('Prince Udaya', 'Prince Kittagabodhi', etc.) (50. 8, 51. 94). Kitti, afterwards King Vijayabāhu I, in his fifteenth year girt on his sword and demanded the title of *āḍipāda* (57.61), thereby laying claim to the succession.

Now to make a distinction, the presumptive heir to the throne among the royal princes is styled *Mahāḍipāda*. The first prince who is called so in the chronicle is Ratanadātha (*Mhus.* 44. 136), the sister's son of Dāthopatiṣṣa who belonged to a collateral line. He is probably identical with Hatthadātha who afterwards became king (45. 21) and publicly took the name Dāthopatiṣṣa II. (650-58 A. C.). Later on Mahinda, the next younger brother of King Sena I (831-51 A. C.) is styled *mahāḍipāda*, and after his suicide in war (50. 21-23), and after the death of the next brother Kassapa (50. 46), the title passes to the youngest brother Udaya (50. 44). But he too died from illness, and as neither the king nor Mahinda

had a son, Sena, the son of Kassapa, was *Mahādīpāda* and ascended the throne (50. 49. 51. 1), after his uncle's decease, as Sena II.

The titles *ādīpāda* or *mahādīpāda* drop with the *abhiśeka* (*Mhva.* 58. 7). Vijayabāhu is called *mahādīpāda* but king in the next verse. We have to assume that between the events narrated in v. 7 (first conquest of the Cojas) and those told from v. 8 onwards (message to Ramañña) the *abhiśeka* had taken place. This was his first coronation; the feast described in *Mhva.* 59. 8 (see above 5) was apparently his second *abhiśeka* after the definitive conquest of the Cojas.

13. As heir to the throne the *Mahādīpāda* is also called *Yuvarāja*, the young king. Both the titles alternate. Mahinda, the brother of King Sena I, is named *Yuvarāja* in *Mhva.* 50. 7 and *mahādīpāda* in 50. 10 from the second half of the 6th cent. onwards, the Southern Province (*dakkhiṇadesa*) was the *Yuvarāja's* province and residence, that is (*vide* Co-drington, *JRAS.* Ceylon Br. no. 75, 1922, p. 63 sq.) the whole country between the *Kala Cya* in the North and the *Kaluganga* in the South, and between the central mountains in the East and the sea-coast in the West, corresponding in the main to the present West and North-West provinces. King Silākāla (524-537 A. C.) handed over the Eastern Province (*paratthimadesa*) to the *yuvarāja*; Aggabodhi I (568-601 A. C.) was the first who conferred the Southern Province on his brother the *ādīpāda* Dāthāpabhūti who was his presumptive successor (41. 33; 42. 8). Dāthāpabhūti's death is related in 42. 37. As the king had no other brother nor a legitimate son, he now conferred the dignity of *Mahādīpāda* and *Yuvarāja*, no doubt along with the Southern Province, on his nephew Aggabodhi who afterwards became his successor. *Dakkhiṇadesa* was the *Yuvarāja's* domain for many centuries (*cf.* *Mhva.* 50. 44, 49; 51. 19, etc.), Parakkamabāhu himself was residing there before ascending the throne in Pulaṭthinagara.

We must, however, notice the fact that a prince did not become *Mahādīpāda* or *Yuvarāja* simply by right, but

he was invested with the dignity by the king in a solemn manner. The expressions in the chronicles are "the king gave the *Ādipāda* so and so the post of *Mahādipāda* or *Yuvarāja*, made him M. or Y., and the like" (*mahādipādattam datuū* or *yuvarājatte thapesi*, *aḥā yuvarājam*, etc.) We learn from *Mhus.* 67.91 that the dignity of the heir-apparent was marked by a frontlet which was put on probably in a festival ceremony which took place after the king's *abhiseka*.

14. Another princely title is *Uparāja* 'sub-king' 'co-regent'; the dignity of an *uparāja* is *oparājja*, *oparāja*. The title has an interesting history. The word is much older than *yuvarāja*. It frequently occurs in the canonical Pāli literature, and also in the most ancient portion of the *Mahāvamsa*. Generally the eldest son of a king is *uparāja* (*Āṅguttara Nikāya* III, 154<sup>13</sup>), the *uparāja* is the heir to the throne. Vijaya is said to be the eldest son and *uparāja* of king Sihabāhu (*Mhus.* 6.38); Paṇḍurāsudeva, the second king of Ceylon makes his eldest son Abhaya *uparāja* (9.12, 14). The first instance of the peculiar law of succession in Ceylon is met with at the time of Devānampiyatissa, (3rd cent. B. C.). His *uparāja* is his next younger brother Mahānāga (14.56) who afterwards sought refuge in Rohana from the ambuscades of the queen who coveted the kingship for her own son. The queen did not carry her point. Devānampiyatissa was succeeded by his brothers.

A. We pass now to the mediaeval times in Ceylon. The word *uparāja* first occurs here in the 6th century (*Mhus.* 41.70, 93). The Moriya king Mahānāga (556-557) made his cousin (*mātulaputta*, son of the mother's brother) Aggabodhi *uparāja*. He was however not the heir-apparent, but the sister's son became his successor (42.4) who bore like the cousin the name Aggabodhi. King Aggabodhi I himself, who (after an interregnum?) ascended the throne in the year 568, conferred the dignity of *uparāja* on his mother's brother, that of *yuvarāja* on his younger brother (42.6). We clearly see that in the oldest mediaeval period when the term *yuvarāja* came into use there was a difference between his position and that of

the *uparāja*. The *yuvarāja* was the heir to the throne, the dignity of the *uparāja* is a position of trust. He was the king's first counsellor.

B. But soon, at least already in the 7th century, a new custom was established in a period of great political troubles. The dignity of *uparāja* is now regularly conferred on the *yuvarāja* or *mahādīpāda*. Thus the ancient custom is adapted to the Sinhalese law of succession. The heir-apparent, not the eldest son exclusively, becomes *uparāja*. The investiture is a solemn act: the king himself consecrates the *uparāja* as he consecrates the queen. The phraseology is now *aparāja bhāsecaya* and the like (*Mhva.* 44. 84; 46. 42, 69; 51. 7, 12), whilst in the former period the chronicler had used the expression, to make *uparāja* or to place in the *uparāja*'s position (41. 93; 42. 6). King Aggabodhi I (626-641) consecrates his younger brother as *uparāja* (44. 84), he is afterwards (44. 123) called *yuvarāja*. We hear in 46. 40 that after Aggabodhi IV's death (674 A. C.) an usurper seized the person of the *uparāja* Dāthāsiva and had him thrown into prison. Apparently the *uparāja* was the legitimate heir to the throne, that is the *yuvarāja*. Aggabodhi VII (766-772) consecrates as *uparāja* his son Mahinda (46. 69); he is called *yuvarāja* in v. 75. In a similar manner in the 9th cent. the nephew of Sena I is given the title *mahādīpāda* (50. 49; 51. 1) and *uparāja* (50. 58, 59), and Sena II's brother Mahinda the title *yuvarāja* (51. 13, 15, 53) and *uparāja* (51. 7, 94).

C. The result of the evolution is that the titles *yuvarāja* and *uparāja* became nearly synonymous, and in the 10th cent. they simply alternate like the surnames *Silāmeghavanṇa* and *Srisaṃghabodhi*. We have the following uninterrupted sequence:

<i>yuvarāja</i>	Dappula	III	makes	Dappula	IV	<i>uparāja</i> (53. 1).
<i>uparāja</i>	Dappula	IV	"	Udaya	III	<i>yuvarāja</i> (53. 4).
<i>yuvarāja</i>	Udaya	III	"	Sena	III	<i>uparāja</i> (53. 13).
<i>uparāja</i>	Sena	III	"	Udaya	IV	<i>yuvarāja</i> (53. 28).
<i>yuvarāja</i>	Udaya	IV	"	Sena	IV	<i>uparāja</i> (53. 39).
<i>uparāja</i>	Sena	IV	"	Mahinda	IV	<i>yuvarāja</i> (54. 1).
( <i>yuvarāja</i> )	Mahinda	IV	"	Sena	V	<i>uparāja</i> .
<i>uparāja</i>	Sena	V	"	Udaya	...	<i>yuvarāja</i> (54. 58).

Now the sequence is interrupted. Udaya becomes king and assumes the name Mahinda (V). But he is conquered by the Cojas and sent as prisoner to India. His son Kassapa who would have been *uparāja* reigned twelve years under the title of Vikkamabahu I. But after his premature death (1041 A.C.) new troubles began and a series of irregular successions and usurpations was followed up to Vijayabāhu I, who ascended the throne in the year 1059 A.C.

D. In later times only traces exist of the former use of the title *uparāja*. Vijayabāhu I was *gavarāja* (Mhvs. 58.1); he appointed as *uparāja* his next younger brother Virabāhu and after his death the second brother Jayabāhu (59.11; 60.86-88). But Jayabāhu is called (61.3) *gavarāja*, and Mānābharaṇa pretends to the position of *uparāja* (61.4) and is called *mahādīpāda*. After Jayabāhu's decease the kingdom becomes disunited. The northern portion of Ceylon is ruled by Vijayabāhu's son Vikkamabāhu and subsequently by his grandson Gajabāhu. Dakkhiṇadēsa and Rohaṇa are in possession of Vijayabāhu's nephews, the three brothers Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha. They too call themselves kings. The terms *gavarāja*, *uparāja*, *mahādīpāda* become disused. Prince Parakkamabāhu is styled *kumāra* and afterwards 'king' when he has got the sovereignty in Dakkhiṇadēsa and later on in the whole of Ceylon. Strange enough in the 18th cent. the two brothers of King Kittisirājāsia are both called *uparāja* (99.85, 124). The title had apparently lost its worth.

15. The last title we have to discuss is *malayarāja*. Malaya was the name of the mountainous country in the centre of the island between Rājaraṭṭha and the provinces depending thereon in the North and Dakkhiṇadēsa and Rohaṇa in the South. We might assume, therefore, that the *malayarāja* was the governor of this province. It seems, however, that this was not always the case. King Silākāla conferred the title of *malayarāja* on his second son Dāthāpabbhūti, but gave him the province of Dakkhiṇadēsa (Mhvs. 41.35). Aggabodhi I (568-601) made his sister's son *malayarāja* (42.6), and Kassapa V (913-923)

his son Siddhattha, born of his consort Rājini who however was not his *maheśī*. Siddhattha seems to have actually reigned over the province (52.68). At the time of Aggabodhi IV (658-674) a *malayarāja* Bodhitissa is mentioned (46. 29, 30), but we do not know how he was related to the king's family.

It is indeed doubtful whether or not the title was confined to royal princes. A change may perhaps have taken place in process of time. Moggallāna III, who with the help of a treacherous general dethroned king Saṃghatissa in the year 611, conferred the dignity of *malayarāja* on his accomplice (44.43). But Moggallāna was a usurper and his action perhaps unlawful. However at the time of King Sena III (937-945 A. C.) the *malayarāja* Aggabodhi is called *amaṇṇa*, minister, not prince (53.36). Parakkamahābhu's *malayarāja* was the Commander of the Damiila mercenaries in the district Rattakara of Dakkhinadesa (69.6), and the *malayarājara* is also mentioned as a general in the war with Gajabāhu (70.62, 155).

16. I have to add a few words about the princely titles occurring in the mediaeval Sinhalese inscriptions. It is strange that the title *uparāja* is never met with. The king is generally called *maharaj*. *\*rad* : to *ādipāda*, prince, corresponds *apa*, to *mahādipāda* (or *mahāpāda*), prince royal, *mahapā* or *māpā*. Instead of *mahādipāda* frequently *apā mahapā* is used. Dappula IV and Mahinda IV (10th cent.) had this title ere they ascended the throne (Ep. Z. I. 25<sup>a</sup>, 91a<sup>2</sup>, 221<sup>2</sup>). The word *mahayā* is hardly the same as *mahādipāda* (Ep. Z. III.82), though in an inscription of Mahinda IV *apipaya maha-paya* is used for *apā mahayā*, (Ep. Z. I. 234<sup>a</sup>) and in Ep. Z. II. 114 C<sup>12</sup> *apā mahapā*. As *apā* shows the *p* is preserved in the joint of the compound, and *mahayā* seems to be the nominal form of the adj. *maha* and to mean the great man (Cf. Wickremasinghe, Ep. Z. I. 26, n. 4). Udā, i. e., Udaya III (II) is (Ep. Z. I. 186<sup>2</sup>) the son of Mihind *mahayā*, because Mahinda was legitimate heir-apparent of Sena II (851-885 A.C.) but died before the king. Udaya himself is also

called *mahayā*, because he was heir to the throne, before he became king after Dappula IV (V) but his son Kitagbo is merely titled *āpā*, Cf. 4. s. f.

The title *yuvārāja* (*yuva-rad*) is identical with *mahayā*. Udaya III is *āpā yuvarad* immediately after his birth. The phrase used in the Puliyankulam inscription (Ep. Z. I. 186') *danā sāṅahi me āpā yuvarad bisea tanā pāmāṇā* 'having attained to the position of a prince heir-apparent in the moment of his birth' corresponds to the phrase (Ep. Z. I. 91 A') in the Mihintale tablets where Mahinda IV is called *āpā mahayā*. The expression *yuvaraj* occurs also in the same connection in an inscription of King Kassapa V (Ep. Z. I. 46').

The title *maḷayārāja* does not occur in the inscriptions.

17. Princesses wear the title *rājini*. This implies a lower dignity than the title *devī* which is due to the consort of a king. Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu and consort of Paṇḍurāja, is called *rājini* (Mhs. 59.41, 62.1), but her granddaughter Mittā, the daughter of Mānābharāṇa and later on consort of her cousin who was also named Mānābharāṇa, is styled *devī* (64. 19), for her father and his brothers claimed the royal dignity. The younger Mānābharāṇa, Mittā's husband, is always styled king. It is remarkable that Udaya I conferred the title *rājini* on his daughters (Mhs. 49.3). From this time onwards the difference of the titles *rājini* and *devī* seems to have been established. King Sena I (831-851 A.D.) assigned the rank of *rājini* to Saṃghā, the daughter of Kittagabodhi, the ruler of Rohana, acknowledging her thereby as royal princess (50. 58). Mahinda IV made his son *ādipāda* and his daughter *rājini*: thus the Ruler founded the royal house of the Siḥalas (54. 11). The princess Yasodharā, the daughter of Vijayabāhu I, was made *rājini* by her father (60.83-84). It is of interest to learn that the princesses did not receive the title by birth but in a solemn ceremony performed by the king.

18. The law regulating the succession was based, as I said in paragraph 10, on paternal relationship. But we have also seen in paragraph 3 that in mediaeval Ceylon

the patriarchal system was sometimes crossed by remains of an older matriarchalism. This fact is also observable in the part which the sister's son, the *bhāgineyya*, plays in the family circle. He has always a prominent position. Dappula II (III) (9th cent.) gives his sister's son Kittagga-bodhi his daughter Devā to wife, and Kittagga-bodhi becomes ruler of Rohaṇa (*Mhva.* 49-71). King Vikkamabāhu II, after having heard that his sister Ratanāveli has borne to Mānābharana a son with most auspicious signs, wishes to educate the young prince Parakkamabāhu at his court, because he regards him as superior to his own son Gajabāhu but Mānābharana refuses to send the boy to Pūlatthinagara (62. 54 sq.). Parakkamabāhu II (1153-1186) made his sister's son Virabāhu Commander of the Sinhalese army to conquer the Jāvakas who had invaded the island, and after his victory Virabāhu was always put on a footing of equality with the king's own sons (83. 41 sq., 87. 15 sq., 39 sq., 88. 5 sq.). It was the custom, I think, that whenever no heir existed according to the regular law of succession, the *bhāgineyya* had the title to the *mahādīpāda* dignity. Thus Aggabodhi I is succeeded in the year 601 by his sister's son Aggabodhi II. His younger brother Dāthāpabhuti who formerly was *goverāja* had died before the king (*Mhva.* 42. 37). Dāthopatiśa I's presumptive successor was his sister's son Hatthadātha (44. 154) who indeed later on (650 A. C.) ascended the throne and took the name Dāthopatiśa (45. 21-22). Kassapa II (641-650 A. C.) had many sons, but they were children without much sense (*bālā vigatā-buddhiṇa*, 45. 61). He therefore sent for his clever *bhāgineyya* Māna who was living in Rohaṇa and transferred to him the whole Government. After his death Māna crowned his father Dappula (45. 16). We understand the conflict between the descendants of Vijayabāhu I best as a conflict between the patriarchal and the matriarchal systems. The three brothers Mānābharana, Kittisirimegha and Srivallabhas were Vijayabāhu's *bhāgineyyā*, the sons of his sister Mittā. After the king's

death they did not object to the succession of his younger brother Jayabāhu who actually was a puppet king. But after him and before Vijayabāhu's son Vikkamabāhu, i.e., before the next generation, they claimed the kingship for themselves by appointing Mānābharapa to the dignity of uparāja. Vikkamabāhu however frustrated their plans by occupying the capital Pulatthinagara and defeating the brothers in battle (*Mhus.* 61, 1 sq.). We know that finally the collateral line of the *bhāgineyyas* came to the throne with Parakkamabāhu, Mānābharapa's son, the greatest king of mediaeval Ceylon.

*To be continued*



## Veda and Avesta

By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh

### I

The various branches of the original Indo-European gave rise to numerous independent dialects already in prehistoric times. But all of these branches are not equally autonomous from the view point of comparative grammar, for almost each of them has special relations either with the original Indo-European or with other Indo-European dialects. It is quite certain that the various Indo-European tribes branched off from the original stock at different times. Some linguists are inclined to believe that the forefathers of the Hittites were the first to branch off from the original stock, or rather that Hittite and the original Indo-European are branches of a still older *Grundsprache*. According to this view Hittite would not be a sister dialect of Sanskrit and Greek but an aunt to them. The other Indo-European dialects known to us may be regarded as sisters of the same parentage, but a few pairs of twins can be clearly distinguished among these sister dialects. Thus the Italic and the Celtic branches represent one pair of such twins just as the Baltic and Slavic branches represent another. These pairs have not only retained all the essential features of the original Indo-European but each of them is further characterised by a series of special common linguistic innovations. It is these special common linguistic innovations unknown to the original Indo-European which reveal the twinship of particular pairs of Indo-European dialects. The particular pair of twins with which we are concerned in the present paper is that constituted by the Indic and the Iranian branches of the original Indo-European.

The explanation of common linguistic innovations in two particular Indo-European dialects is quite obvious. We have to assume that the original speakers of these languages used to live together for sometime even after they had detached themselves from the main body of Indo-Europeans, and, what is more, that they used to speak one language during that period. Thus it is universally recognised that there was a time when the forefathers of the Iranians and the Vedic Aryans used to live together and speak a common language. That they lived together for a pretty long time and were members of the same society is conclusively proved by the remarkable cultural affinities between these two peoples, which cannot fail to strike any one who has ever looked into the Veda and the Avesta. The important religious reformation introduced by Zoroaster lent a highly spiritual aspect to the old Iranian religion, but still the substratum of an older culture, almost identical with that of the Veda, is unmistakable in the Avesta, and, what is more, both the Veda and the Avesta seem to breathe the same spirit.

Even more striking, if possible, are the linguistic affinities between the older literatures of India and Iran. It has been often said—and it is hardly an exaggeration—that the Avestan language stands closer to Vedic than the classical Sanskrit of Kālidāsa. The difference between Avestan and Vedic is in fact not greater than that between some of the Greek dialects known from inscriptions and the structures of the two languages are so similar that an Avestan sentence can often be translated into Vedic simply by applying to each word the phonetic laws of Vedic. Thus the Avesta passage Y. 10. 8:

*yō yāhō pərəcəm taurəcəm haoməm vandačta māyō  
frā āhyō tanubhyō haomō vīsaitē būcīcāi*

is equivalent to Vedic:

*yō yāhā pṛcācā tārūnām sōmām vāndeta mārtyah  
prā ābhyaṣ tanūbhyaḥ sōmā vīcāte bhīcājāya.*

Here only in the last word do we find a difference of form, in all other cases the difference is merely phonologi-

cal. A more eloquent proof of the close relationship between the two languages can hardly be imagined. Yet it is not enough to convince the linguists of any special relation existing between Vedic and Avestan. They will argue that the apparent similarity may be simply due to the fact that both these languages are known from a very early date when they had not yet had enough time to change much from their original Indo-European prototype. In fact so long as the apparent similarity consists merely in the retention of the characteristic features of the *Grundsprache* it cannot prove any special affinity between any two Indo-European dialects. Only a series of common linguistic innovations can prove this. But there is no dearth of such innovations in Vedic and Avestan.

In the field of phonology the most important common innovation between these two languages is certainly the obliteration of all distinctions between the three original *e*, *ō* and *a*. In the place of these three distinct vowels in Greek we find only *ā* in Sanskrit and Iranian, which shows that this far-reaching change in the Indo-European vowel-system had taken place already in the common Indo-Iranian dialect spoken by the common forefathers of the Vedic Aryans and the Iranians. Thus Gr. *epi pēte-tai*, but Skt. *āpī pāta-ti* and Av. *aipi a-pata-t*; Gr. *ōm pōis*, but Skt. *akṣī pāti* and Av. *aīi paīy-*. Indo-European *ā* of course has remained unchanged in all the three languages, cf. Gr. *ālmān*, Skt. *āiman* and Av. *asman*. From the extensive use of the vowel *ā* in Indo-Iranian it was thought at first that Sanskrit and Avestan have preserved the old state of things and that this original vowel was split up into *e*, *ō* and *ā* in Greek etc. at a comparatively later date. But this view had to be gradually given up, for it was observed that although to all appearance *ā* is a perfectly homogeneous vowel in Indo-Iranian, the behaviour of the gutturals preceding it is by no means so simple in these languages. In fact before every *a* for which Greek etc. show an *e*, the Indo-European gutturals assume a palatalised form in Indo-Iranian

and in the *sām* dialects in general, thus Gr. *te* (<\*gē), Lat. *que* but Skt. and Av. *ca*. Now as this palatalisation is otherwise known in Indo-Iranian only before *i* or *y* (cf. Skt. *śilyas* but *ugrā*, Av. *draofista* superlative of *draoga*) it had to be assumed that the Indo-Iranian palatalising *a* must have had an *i*-timbre originally, in other words, that it was originally an *e*. Once it was thus conclusively proved that Greek has preserved the Indo-European vowel-system more faithfully than Sanskrit by distinguishing between *a* and *e*, there was already a strong presumption also in the case of *o* that this vowel too had once enjoyed a separate existence in Indo-Iranian. No direct proof can be brought forward to prove this as in the case of *e*, but here too the *a*-vowels which have to be traced back to Indo-European *a* show peculiar ablaut forms quite unknown to those corresponding to Indo-European *e* or *o*. In certain particular cases a peculiar alternance between *a* and *ā* is observed in Sanskrit, the shorter vowel appearing before a consonant group and the longer one appearing before a simple consonant. If in analogous cases *e* or *o* (out of older *ai* or *au* respectively) appears before a consonant, its place is taken by *ay* or *ō* before a vowel. Analogy with the alternance *a* : *ā* is quite complete here, for we have to remember that the second element of a diphthong may take up the function of a consonant. Thus, for instance, in the 3 sg. perf. act. *da-dārt-a* but *ja-jān-a* (alternance *a* : *ā*), *ci-kēt-a* but *ji-gñā-a* (alternance *e* : *āy*), *ju-jōy-a* but *su-jāv-a* (alternance *o* : *āv*). Now, the corresponding forms in other Indo-European dialects show that in these cases *a* : *ā* is derived from I.-E. *o*; *e* : *ay* from I.-E. *oi*; and *o* : *āv* from I.-E. *ou*; cf. Gr. *dē-dork-e*, *lē-loip-e*, *eikē-louth-e*. The strangely behaving *ā*, which in certain particular cases shows a short form before a consonant group and a long form before a simple consonant is therefore derived from I.-E. *o*, as distinct from I.-E. *e* or *o*. This differential behaviour of *a*-vowels derived from I.-E. *o* shows that there was a time when they were still qualitatively different from the other *a*-vowels in the common

Indo-Iranian *Ursprache*. It is therefore quite a legitimate and natural assumption that in its earlier stage the Indo-Iranian *Ursprache* still retained the old I.-E. vowel *a* which only later changed into *ā* and thus coincided with I.-E. *e* and *ā*. Yet no *a priori* reason can be shown why particularly the vowels derived from I.-E. *e* should vary in quantity in particular positions. Brugmann attempted to prove that the alternance *a* : *ā* is the normal Indo-Iranian representative of the Indo-European alternance *e* : *o* in open syllable; cf. Gr. *patēres* *a-pātores*; Skt. *pitāras* *trāt-pitāras* ('having you as father'), Gr. *ākmān-a*; Skt. *āimān-am* Av. *aimān-am*. But Brugmann himself was compelled to give up his theory in view of numerous exceptions, cf., for example, Gr. *gōnos*; Skt. *jāna*, Gr. *hōnos*; Skt. *samā*. According to Brugmann's Law, the Skt. forms should have been \**jāna* and \**sāma* respectively.

We have seen that Indo-Iranian *ā* corresponds to I.-E. *ē*, *ō* and *ā*. But there is an apparent exception to this rule, and this exception is again a notable common linguistic innovation of Sanskrit and Avestan. Ordinarily Indo-Iranian *ā* corresponds to the I.-E. short vowels *ē*, *ō*, *ā*; but for those *ē*, *ō*, *ā* in Greek, which stand in ablaut relation with *e*, *o*, *a* respectively, Sanskrit and Avesta show not *ā* but *i*. To render the picture still more complicated, the homogeneous vowel *ā*, which might be expected in Indo-Iranian, appears in every other Indo-European dialect<sup>1</sup> and corresponds there to Indo-Iranian *i* and Greek *ē*, *ō* or *ā* as the case may be. Thus the short *ē* in Gr. *e-tē-thēn* (<\**e-thē-thēn* through dissimilation of aspirates) stands in evident ablaut relation with the long *ē* in Gr. *ti-thē-mi* (original Indo-European root *dhē-*). But the weak grade form of the same root shows an *i* in Sanskrit *hitā* and an *a* in Lat. *fa-c-io*. Similarly the weak grade form of the Indo-European root *dō-* shows an *ū* in Greek

<sup>1</sup> In the shape of the regular phonetic equivalent of I.-E. *a* in the dialect concerned. Thus in Slavic an *a* corresponds to this Indo-Iranian *i* for every I.-E. *a* had become *o* in Slavic at a very early period.

(cf. *e-dā-thēn* as opposed to the full grade form in *dī-dā-mī*) but again *i* and *ā* in Sanskrit (cf. *d-dī-thās*) and Latin (cf. *dā-tus*) respectively. It is still a disputed point whether this Greek alternance *ē*: *ē* and *ō*: *ō* is normal and phonetic or is based on analogy with the alternance *ā*: *ā* as observed in *stā-sis*: *hī-stā-mī* (Doric) from *st(h)ā-*, whose weak grade form shows *i* and *a* in Sanskrit and Latin respectively (cf. Skt. *sthi-tā*, Lat. *stā-tus*); but most linguists are now inclined to believe that the variety of sounds appearing in Greek has preserved something old and original which has escaped the other languages, striving for uniformity in one form or other,—in the form of *i* in Indo-Iranian, and elsewhere in the form of *ā*. Now it is almost universally accepted that the original I.-E. sound to which an *i* corresponds in Indo-Iranian and an *ā* elsewhere (always excepting Greek which may have also *ē* and *ō*), was a weak and indeterminate vowel,—in fact a weak grade ablaut form of either of the three long vowels *ē*, *ā* and *ā*. Short root vowels generally disappear altogether and short diphthongs forfeit their first components in weak grade form, but long vowels always leave something behind in similar cases even though it be a weak and hardly articulate vowel. In the technical terminology of linguistics this weak vowel is called *schwa indogermanicum*<sup>1</sup> and is transcribed by an inverted *e*. Now this *e* has normally given rise to *i* in Indo-Iranian but coincided with I. -E-, *ā* in all the other dialects excepting Greek. But if it is accepted that the multiplicity of forms in Greek is not due to later analogical influence of the alternance *ē*: *ā* but an authentic relic of the Indo-European *Grundsprache*, it has to be admitted that however feebly this *schwa ind.* might have been pronounced it still succeeded in preserving its original timbre in each case. Thus the evidence of Greek would

1. The word 'schwa' is taken from Hebrew grammatical literature, where it designates a similar weak vowel.

seem to suggest that when derived from  $\varepsilon$  the *schwa indogermanicum* had an  $\varepsilon$ -timbre, when from  $\sigma$  an  $\sigma$ -timbre and when from  $\bar{a}$  an  $\bar{a}$ -timbre. The apparent anomaly that sometimes to a Greek  $\varepsilon \bar{\sigma} \bar{a}$  an  $\bar{e}$  and not the usual  $\bar{a}$  corresponds in Indo-Iranian (cf. Skt. *pītā*, O. Pers. *pita*; Gr. *patēr*) can therefore be fully explained. For we have seen that the vowel in question was originally none of the three ones for which an  $\bar{a}$  may be usually expected in Indo-Iranian,<sup>1</sup> but a sound of quite a different character so feebly pronounced that its exact vowel timbre in each case was completely lost in all the languages excepting perhaps in Greek.

The ablaut  $\bar{a} : \bar{a}$  however naturally appears to be too violent. It seems unlikely that the long vowel  $\bar{a}$  would be reduced to mere  $\bar{a}$  when the accent is shifted. One would be tempted to believe *a priori* that a reduced vowel  $\bar{a}$  has to be postulated as the intermediary step between  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{a}$ , so that the whole ablaut series would be  $\bar{a} : \bar{a} : \bar{a}$ . In fact in Skt. we do find traces of of this short- $\bar{a}$  alternating on the one hand with  $\bar{a}$  and on the other with  $\bar{a}$  ( $> i$ ), cf. *vā : vā-tā : vā* (2). This and a few other similar cases of alternance between  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{a}$  have given rise to the belief that the I.-E.  $\bar{a}$  sporadically appears as  $\bar{a}$  in Sanskrit. It would be more accurate however to take this  $\bar{a}$  as the intermediate reduced step between  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{a}$ . Hirt is inclined to believe that such an intermediate reduced step has to be postulated also in the case of ablaut  $\bar{a} : \bar{a}$  (zero). In other words, in his opinion, even a short vowel cannot disappear altogether in the first instance without leaving some trace behind,—an intermediary reduced vowel step has to be postulated also in this case. Hirt would thus postulate the ablaut series  $\bar{a} : \bar{a} : \bar{a}$  (zero). The existence of such a series cannot be proved by means of examples out of Sanskrit, but certain instances of vowel alternance in Greek suggest

<sup>1</sup> Yet I.-E.  $\bar{a}$  regularly becomes  $\bar{a}$  in Indo-Iranian before  $\bar{i}$ ; cf. Skt. *dhāyo ti* < \**dhāyo ti* < *ti*.

that Hirt's series is quite plausible. Thus at the side of the normal grade form *bél-os* we have the nil grade from *bl-duai*. But whence comes the sorist form *bal-cin*? Here it is quite clear that the radical vowel was not altogether lost,—it is here the vehicle of a distinct syllable (*ba-lein*). Hirt therefore suggests that here we are confronted with the intermediary reduced vowel \* between *a* and *o* (zero).

In the treatment of the semi-vowels *j* and *y* the languages of the Veda and the Avesta differ from all other Indo-European dialects in one respect; in the earliest stage of both these languages *j* before *i* and *y* before *u* seem to have been dropped even though the result was a hiatus. Sanskrit *īréṣṭha* has its exact counterpart in Av. *sraēšta*. But it is to be noted that in the RV. *īréṣṭha* is often trisyllabic and the allied forms clearly show that the stem is *īray-*. It is therefore quite clear that the original form of *īréṣṭha* was either \**īray-iṣṭha* or \**īrā-iṣṭha* (with hiatus). The disyllabic form *īréṣṭha* may be obviously derived from \**īray-iṣṭha*, in which case it is to be regarded as another case of Prakritism in the RV. (as *īrēdhā* < *īrayidhā*). But the corresponding Av. form *sraēšta* excludes this possibility; it may be both disyllabic or trisyllabic (see below), but in neither case can it be derived from \**sraj-ista*. On the other hand, in numerous cases in Sanskrit, vowels on both sides of a hiatus have later given rise to a monophthong (cf. *jyēṣṭha* < \**jyā-iṣṭha*, *dēṣṭha* < \**dā-iṣṭha* etc.). Moreover the apparent diphthong *ae* in *sraēšta* may be actually taken to be *ae* with hiatus, for Av. *jaē*, for instance, appears as a variant form of *jahī*. All this shows that the Indo-Iranian form from which Skt. *īréṣṭha* and Av. *sraēšta* are directly derived was \**īrā-iṣṭha* with hiatus. In the RV. both the forms *revāt* and *rayivāt* are current. But Av. *raēvat* shows that the former represents the older form derived from Indo-Iranian \**raēvat* < \**raṣivāt*. In Skt. *rayivāt* the *y* was analogically introduced at a later date.

Due to the same phonetic law the verb forms in Skt. which would normally begin with *yi-* show an initial *i-* in the older language. Thus the desiderative stem of *yaj-* is *iyakṣ-* in the RV. But in the classical language the initial *y* was re-introduced analogically and there the corresponding stem is *yiyakṣ-*. This mode of re-introducing *y* is current already in the Brāhmaṇas, for there the desiderative stem of *yam-* is *yiyama-*, and the corresponding form of *yabh-* is *yiyapa-*. Yet in certain cases the older form persisted also in the classical language, cf. *iyāja* (perfect) from *yaj-*. In all the cases of desiderative mentioned above, the *i* of the reduplication syllable is at least of Indo-Iranian antiquity as we shall see below, but from the extant Avestan texts no form can be quoted which would prove a similar loss of initial *y* before *i*. The sound combination *yi* in medial position is not altogether rare in Skt., cf. *āpīyi* (aor. pass. of *pā-*), *ājāyi* (loc. sg. of *āji*), etc. But all these forms are later analogy formations.

The similar disappearance of *v* before *u* is not exactly comparable with the phenomenon discussed above, firstly because there is no sure Avestan example which would prove the validity of this law also for old Iranian, though it is admittedly quite probable, and secondly because in none of these numerous cases of the loss of *v* before *u* in Skt. is the vowel in question of Indo-European origin. In fact the combination *vu* was extremely rare in the original Indo-European. In most cases the *v* in Skt. which causes the loss of the preceding *v* is derived from an Indo-European *r*-sonant (I.-E. *r* normally becomes *ṛ* in Skt.), cf. Skt. *śrā* 'sheep': Gr. *varēn*, Skt. *śrāṇi*: O. II. G. *varān*, etc. This is a peculiar feature of Skt. alone, for in analogous cases the original initial *v* is regularly retained in Avestan, cf. Skt. *śras*: Av. *varā*, Skt. *śrāṇi*: Av. *varāna*, etc. In Skt. perfect forms such as *uśāca* (: *uśa-*), *uśāna* (: *uśa-*), etc. an initial *v* has been evidently dropped before *u*, but this *u* too is of properly Indian origin, for in all these forms the

original reduplication syllable was *va-* and not *\*vu-* (cf. *vaudea*). In analogous cases the reduplication syllable is invariably *va* in Avestan (cf. Av. *vašača*). No parallel to these Skt. perfect forms with initial *u* can therefore be found in Avestan.

*To be continued*



## The Influx of Indian Sculpture into Fu-nan

By Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer

Among the earliest monuments of Buddhist sculpture found in Fu-nan, the southern part of Cambodia, are the statues of two Buddhas, the torso of a sitting Buddha and the head of a Buddha discovered in the Vât Romlok, Prei Krabâs, Takev, by M. Groslier.<sup>1</sup>

One of the standing Buddhas, whose head was found a few years after his body, is a tall aristocratic figure swaying out in a delicate curve, and appearing almost naked under his smooth and clinging garments. The *sanghâtî* covers the whole body and is held a little away from it by both arms, thus forming a sort of trough.

The body which is slim and graceful carries a noble head of extraordinarily frank expression, which is due to the open eyes. This is a rather uncommon feature, for in most cases the lids are cast down, producing a dreamy, sometimes an almost depressed, air.

The head of this Buddha resembles in every detail a marble head hailing from the site of Nâgârjunikoṇḍâ which was presented some years ago to the Musée Guimet in Paris by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil. This head, like the reliefs from this site, dates from the 3rd century A. D. The date may be assumed as safely established by the epigraphic records, and by the style of the sculptures which is evidently related to, but a little more mature than, the style of Amarāvati (2nd century A. D.).<sup>2</sup>

1 These sculptures are admirably reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, XVI, George Covalier: *Les collections Khmères du Musée Albert Sarraut à Phnom-Penh*, Paris (1931), Pl. 1-4.

2 J. Ph. Vogel: *Präkz. inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nâgârjunikoṇḍâ*, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 1 ff.

Although the single head cannot be brought into the same intimate connection with South Indian prototypes as the head of this standing Buddha, M. Coedès was certainly right in pleading for a South Indian descent.

The other standing Buddha is of a heavier build; the body is accentuated more clearly, the attitude is an elaborate contraposto so that the silhouette reveals a livelier movement than that of the other statue. The drapery leaves the right shoulder and right arm bare, it is closely drawn to the right side of the body and hangs down loosely on the left side. The rather heavy head is bent, and bears an expression of friendly dulness.

Now a good many bronze statuettes of Buddha have been excavated at Amarāvati and at Buddhapād which show the same arrangement of the clothes, the same gestures, and often the same carriage.<sup>1</sup>

And when one remembers that in Java, in Sumatra, in Siam, in Annam and even in Celebes bronze and stone figures have been discovered, some of monumental size, all of them supposed to be imported from Amarāvati, it seems obvious that this same artistic centre is responsible for the beginnings of Buddhist sculpture in Fu-nan too.<sup>2</sup>

I think there can be no doubt that the artistic influences of Amarāvati extended far over the seas; but that does not imply that only her own art was distributed.

1 A. Rea: *Excavations at Amarāvati*. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1908/9. Robert Sewell: *Some Buddhist bronzes and relics of Buddha*. *J.R.A.S.*, 1895 pp. 615ff, Pl. 1-3.

2 Java, South Djember: cf. W. Cobin: *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*. Leipzig 1925, pp. 288.

Sumatra, Singurung: *Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Arch.* for 1931, Pl. 2, *JGIS*, 1/1, Pl. 1.

Siam, P'ong Tuk: *Journal Siam Soc.*, XXI, Bangkok 1928, Pl. 17. *Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Arch.* for 1927, Pl. viii/e.

Dang-Dang: Coomaraswamy: *Geschichte der ind. und indones. Kunst*, Abb. 342.

Celebes, West coast: *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1933, pp. 495ff.

One strange trait of Indian sculpture, as far as Buddhist subject-matter is concerned, enables the archaeologist to trace certain representations back to their origins. I mean the fact that Northern, Western and Southern India represent the Buddha in different attitudes and differently clad. Northern India gives the sitting Buddha with legs interlocked (*padmasana*). After the invasion of Gandhāra forms, i. e., from about 100 A. D., Mathurā clothes her Buddhas in *sanghātis* reaching up to the neck, and tries to reproduce the North-Western drapery by long parallel curves, mostly incised in the stone.<sup>1</sup> At this stage the Buddha image was passed on from Mathurā to Amarāvati. But the Indian taste was not contented, for it had its own view as to what an ideal Buddha should look like; very soon the clothes were stripped from his right shoulder and arm, and at the same time the heavy hem of the garment was drawn across the legs and thrown over the extended left fore-arm. This change took place in Mathurā already, but it seems significant that there only one statue of Maitreya shows the new fashion, whereas the Buddha continues to be presented with covered shoulders and arms. It was in Amarāvati that the new mode met with unchecked approval and gave birth to the well-known type of South Indian Buddha.

This happened during the 2nd century A. D., probably shortly before or about 150 A. D. After this date a free-standing Buddha in South India invariably has his right shoulder and arm bare, and carries his *sanghāti* in the manner described above. The figure holds itself stiffly erect, without any bend in the hips.

South India and Ceylon did not abandon this type for centuries, as is proved by the bronzes from Dong-Duong

<sup>1</sup> The date 129 A.D., given in L. Bachhofer: *Early Indian Sculpture*, Paris 1929, I, pp. 103ff., has to be corrected into 100 A.D. Detailed reasons in my paper on *Die Anfänge der buddhistischen Plastik in China, Ost. Zeit., N.F., X, 1934, p. 8.*

and South Djember which date from the 4th-5th and 5th-6th centuries A. D. respectively.

Though those fine works of South Indian toreutics were discovered in Further India, thus testifying to an ancient trade between those countries and the Vengi, I wish to emphasise the fact that the style, the attitudes and the costume of both the standing Buddhas from Vāt Romlok do not coincide with those of the South Indian type. True, apart from the size and the material, one of them, the second one described, is identical with a small bronze from Buddhapād. But here the question is raised whether this and other statuettes from Buddhapād and Amarāvati were South Indian or not.

They are not; their gracefully swinging bodies, with their thin, smooth draperies, with bare right shoulder and arm are not the ideal of Southern, but of Western India where this very type dominates the caves of Ajantā and Kanheri. It may be that those specimens are comparatively late, dating from about the middle of the 6th century A. D. but the statuettes from Buddhapād, Amarāvati and some other sites not only show the same features, but show them in a decidedly earlier style. To assign them to the 4th century A. D. might not be very far off the mark.

The presence of a considerable number of Buddhas of the Western Indian type in the Vengi seems to be due to the dynasty of the Ikṣvākus who were probably of Śaka descent, perhaps even related to the "Western Satraps." Some inscriptions from Nāgārjunikondā support this assumption very strongly, and Mr. Sten Konow has come to the conclusion that some expressions point to Western India.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there is a number of reliefs from Nāgārjunikondā which represent Śaka warriors in their unmistakably Central Asian costumes.

To sum up: the sitting Buddha from Vāt Romlok is definitely connected with South India by the *paryāṅkāśana*,

<sup>1</sup> Vogel, l.c., pp. 4, 37, 25. *Ann. Bhl. of Ind. Arch.* for 1927 Pl. vi/1; *ibid.*, for 1930, Pl. a/b.

the head of one of the standing Buddhas is intimately related to a head from Nāgārjunikoṇḍā, while another head must have been influenced by a South Indian model; the second standing Buddha is identical with a small bronze Buddha from Buddhapād. There is little doubt that the influx of all these forms came from the Vengi, even that of the Western India type, which had become fashionable there under the Ikṣvāku dynasty.

The export of Buddhist sculpture from Vengi overseas to the East must have started as early as the 2nd century A. D., for the small bronze Buddha of P'ong Tuk and the enormous stone Buddha of Ségungtang belong to a phase in the development of South Indian sculpture which ended about 150 A. D. The models for the statues of Vāt Romlok do not seem to be earlier than the end of the 3rd or more likely of the 4th century A. D.; they found their way into Fu-nan under the Ikṣvākus who had made South India acquainted with the type of Western India.

But it was not only Western and South Indian art which reached Fu-nan, although their influence was predominant there. The Buddha first described, the one with the head closely related to the head of Nāgārjunikoṇḍā, is clad in a *saṅghāṭī* covering both shoulders. This feature proves at least an acquaintance with Buddha images from North India, and the total absence of the *urnā* in Vāt Romlok points in the same direction. That there existed a connection between North India and Siam at least, may be concluded from the fine standing Buddha from Vāt Rō, Ayudhyā, now in the National Museum in Bangkok, which would have been impossible without an intimate acquaintance with a North India type of rather the 4th than the 5th century A. D.<sup>1</sup>

It goes without saying that the art of Western and Southern India was spread to Further India by sea; the geographical

<sup>1</sup> G. Coedès: *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok* (Art Asiatique, XII), Paris 1928, Pl. II.

position of the sites where "Pre-khmér" sculpture has been found in Cambodia corroborates this view. I am inclined to think the same about the spread of North Indian art, and that the blending of the various ideas and forms was effectuated in Fu-nan. But this is only a theory and it is to be hoped that new finds will throw a clearer light on these interesting problems.



## A Sanskrit Manual of Tsonkhapist Warship

By Dr. E. Obermiller\*

The January issue of this Journal contains a most interesting article by Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattachārya "*A Sanskrit treatise by a Tibetan author*". We have here a specimen of those queer literary productions of the Tibetan and Mongolian Lamas who consider it especially meritorious to clad their works, originally written in Tibetan, in a Sanskrit garb, and make attempts to write Sanskrit without being able to follow the rules of grammar. Mr. Bhattacharya gives us a critical edition of the quasi-Sanskrit version of the text, an edition which he has prepared with the greatest care, being never at a loss to explain the irregular forms and to amend them in the foot-notes. In the foreword he points to the contents of the text and remarks that it "deals with the method of worship well-known in Mahāyāna Buddhism, taking refuge (*śaraṇagamaṇa*), the production of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda*)," etc.

All this is unquestionably right. But, may it be asked, who is the object of worship in the present case? This is a matter of no small importance, which, as it seems to us, has completely escaped the attention of Mr. Bhattacharya; otherwise he would certainly have made mention of it in the foreword. We may be permitted to make here this necessary addition basing our remarks upon the text in which the person to whom the author addresses himself is most clearly indicated.

\* As we are going through the Press, we learn with extreme regret the sad news of the premature death of Dr. Obermiller. By his death the cause of Buddhist learning has lost one of its most indefatigable and competent workers and the Greater India Society, along with many other learned institutions in this country has been deprived of a most esteemed coadjutor. An obituary notice of the late lamented scholar will appear in the next number of this Journal.—Ed., J.C.I.S.

Let us take first of all the sentence at the beginning:  
 बुधितराजनामगुरु-उपधारकम् ।

It is to be translated as: "the way or method (*krama*) of honouring (*upacāra*) the teacher (*guru*) who is called the king, the Lord of Tuṣita." Now, who is this teacher? We read further on (p. 50):

बुधितराजस्य नाथस्य and धर्मराट् सर्वज्ञः सुमतिकीर्तिधीः ।

"The king of the Doctrine, the omniscient Sumatīkīrtīdhi." At once all becomes clear. *Sumatīkīrtīdhi* is the Sanskrit equivalent of *Lo-bzān-dag-pai-pal* (*Blo-bzān-grags-paḥi-dpal*)—the proper name of *Tsoñ-kha-pa*, the great Tibetan reformer and founder of the Gelugpa sect. He is called "the Lord of Tuṣita", i.e., of the Tibetan monastery *Gāndan* or *Gānden* (*dgah-ldan*=*Tuṣita*), which was founded by him in 1409 and became the first centre of the Gelugpa sect. Till the present day the Head Lama of *Gāndan* is termed "the successor to the golden throne of *Tsoñ-kha-pa*." "The sons" mentioned in the following line are the two principal pupils of *Tsoñ-kha-pa*, viz. *Gyal-tshab Darma Rinchen* and *Khai-dub Ge-leg Pal-saṅ-po* (*mkhas-grub dGe-legs dPal-bzaṅ-po*), the first two spiritual rulers of *Gāndan* after the teacher's death.

As to the Sanskrit proper name of *Tsoñ-kha-pa*,—*Sumatīkīrti* or *Sumatīkīrtīdhi*, it is well-known to the Tibetan and Mongolian Lamas. A mantra which is engraved over the doors of one of the temples of the *Chilūtai* Monastery (*Buriat Republic, Transbaikalia*) and which drew my attention during my visit to that place runs:

ओं गुरुवज्रधत्तुमतिकीर्तिसिद्धिं हूं हूं ।

But let us proceed further on with the text. On page 53 we read: *बौद्धः सुमतिकीर्तिस्य* (sic!) *वाद् ध्येयमि* (*अध्येयमि*) ।

Here no further investigation is needed. We have it directly: *बौद्धः* which is no other than *Tsoñ-kha-pa* with the *च* substituted for *त* and the *anusvāra* for *ङ*. It seems strange that Mr. Bhattacharya has not paid attention to this place, as well as the preceding epithet *Geṅs-can mkhas-paḥi gtsug-rgyan* (correctly Sanskritized: *himavat-panḍita-cūḍā-*

*lamkhāru*) which is one of the honorific appellations or complimentary names of Tsoñ-kha-pa, indicated by Sarat Chandra Das in his Dictionary, p. 211.

The fact that the worshipper makes his Mental Effort or vow for Enlightenment as if in the presence of Tsoñ-kha-pa must be explained in the sense that, just as the Bodhisattvas of the Buddhist legends are said to have made their vows in addressing their prayer to the Buddha of their time,<sup>1</sup> in the same manner the Gelugpa devotee addresses the founder of his order, the Master or Lord of Gāndan (Tuṣita). The latter is for him by no means inferior to a Buddha.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the text edited by Mr. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya discloses itself as a manual for worshipping Tsoñ-kha-pa, the deified *guru*, the Je-Lama (*rje-bla-ma*), the object of pious adoration of millions of Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhists,

1 Cf. *Bu-ston, Transl.*, Vol. I, p. 108, etc.

2 The Tibetans give to Tsoñ-kha-pa the title of "the second Buddha," the same which is usually applied to Vaṣubandhu.

**Ten Old-Javanese Copper-plates  
from Sidotĕka of the Śaka year 1245.**

By Hiransu Bhuan Sarkar

Ten copper-plates measuring 14.56" x 4.92" approximately were found in 1884 and 1885 from Sidotĕka in the division of Mojokerto, Surabaya<sup>1</sup>. According to Dr. Van Stein Callenfela<sup>2</sup> these must have been obtained from a region in the lower course of the Brantas river. They are deposited at present in the Museum of Batavia where they are numbered E. 25<sup>3</sup>. Dr. Brandes gave a cursory notice of these plates in the *Notulen*<sup>4</sup> where he stated that several terms occurring in these records agree with those of the record of 1216 Śaka, now numbered LXXXI in *OJO*. The present series of copper-plates which forms but one inscription does not mention the proper name of the reigning king but gives merely his coronation-name, viz., *Śri Sundarapāṇḍyadewā-dhīśvaranāma rājābhīṣeka wīkramottunggadewa*. As King Kṛtarājasa died<sup>5</sup> in the year 1309 A. D., this record of 1323 A. D. refers in all probability to his son and successor, Jayanagara, who has been called Kala Gēmēt by the writer of the *Pararaton*.<sup>6</sup> This prince is mentioned in the record of 1294 A. D.<sup>7</sup> The coronation-name already appears in the Blitar inscription of 1314 A. D. from which it would seem that this title had been in use at least for a decade<sup>8</sup>. It is rather strange that Jayanagara should accept a name

1 *OJO*, p. 198.

2 *Feestb. Bat. Gen.*, II (1929), p. 377 ff.

3 *Notulen*, 1884, p. 111 ff., 1885, p. 1.

4 *Notulen*, 1886, p. 43 ff.

5 *TBG.*, 55, p. 147.

6 *Pararaton*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 130, 131.

7 *OJO*, LXXXI, p. 1, 11a.

8 *OJO*, LXXXII; *Krom, Geschiedenis*<sup>3</sup>, p. 379.

which signifies his suzerainty over Sundarapāṇḍya, apparently the Pāṇḍya King of that name in Southern India. Dr. Krom<sup>9</sup> in his well-known treatise on Indo-Javanese history has questioned the validity of the King's assuming this title. May I suggest that the title refers to the defeat of King Jātavarman Sundarapāṇḍya II<sup>10</sup> who appears to be identical with Marco Polo's Sendar Bandi ruling in 1292 A. D.<sup>11</sup>, and with Sundar Bandi, who, according to Muslim historians, died in 1293 A. D. ? The relations of the Pāṇḍyas with Indonesia were not always peaceful. An inscription of the Pāṇḍya King Jātavarman Virapāṇḍya, dated 1264 A. D., states that he took the crown and the crowned head of the king of Jāvaka.<sup>12</sup> There is therefore no improbability in the assumption of an antagonism between the powers of Indonesia and Southern India. I venture to suggest that this conflict occurred not long before 1293 A. D., if the date of demise of Sundarapāṇḍya as given by Muslim historians is correct. As Jayanagara did not probably attain manhood at this time, he was obviously the nominal head of the Majapahit army against its South Indian adversaries.

This record contains a list of the high functionaries of state, some of whom are known from other sources. Among the foremost ministers we notice the names of Raṅganātha, Kāmeśvara and Viśvanātha. There were several commanders of the army. Of them, Puruṣeśvara, the commander for Daha, and Halāyudha, the commander for Majapahit, were probably the most important, because, while the other two generals, viz., Deḍes, the commander for Kapulungan, and Tanu, the commander for Matahun, are designated simply as Mpu, the former two are explicitly

<sup>9</sup> *Geschiedenis*<sup>2</sup>, p. 378 ff.

<sup>10</sup> For these Pāṇḍya rulers, see *Et.*, xi, pp. 253-266; *JA.*, xxi, p. 121 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also *Cathay and the way thither*, Yule's ed., Vol. I, p. 220; Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar*, *Introd.*, p. 141.

<sup>12</sup> *JA.*, II-XX (1922), pp. 48-50; *JGIS.*, II, pp. 19-20.

mentioned as *dyah*, i. e., princes or members of noble families. In pl. 4a we read that the King's authority not only embraced the whole of the island of Java but also the eastern islands of Madura and Tañjungpura. Thus the Majapahit empire of the time of Jayanagara had extensive relations with lands in the far east and west. This inscription also throws some side-light on the cultural and religious history, as well as the industries and amusements of contemporary Java. We not only hear of the Superintendents of Śaivite and Buddhist institutions, but also come to learn that some of them were highly educated. Different branches of letters like grammar, logic and Sāṃkhya philosophy were studied with profit by these spiritual teachers called *ḍaṅg ācāryas*. As regards business-transactions we hear not only of commodities from lands but also of the products of seas. Of these the production of sugar, pots, wickerworks, umbrellas, etc., deserves particular mention. Among the amusements of the Javanese people, music of *Kangai* and *gamōlan* has been mentioned in pl. 8a. They loved to wear fine clothes and precious jewels, golden bracelets, nose-rings, etc., while rich dishes catered to their varied tastes.

This inscription has therefore a great bearing on the history of ancient Java. Just as we have *jalasamūha* as the royal seal of Balitung or *garuḍamukha* as the seal of King Airlangga, so this record also mentions *minadwaya*, i. e., two fishes, as the *lāñchana* of King Jayanagara, the record has been transcribed in Brandes-Krom, *Oudjavaanache Oorkonden* where it bears no. LXXXIII. I now edit the text from this transcription, adding an original translation with proper diacritical marks.

### Text

- 1 a. Swasti éri Śakawarṣātita, 1245, mārggaśīramāsa tithi  
pañcadaśi śuklapakṣa, tung. u. ang. wāra, krulwut, pūr-  
wasthagrahacāra, adrūnakṣatra, rudradewatā, baruṇa-

maṇḍala, brahmayoga, wijayamuhūrta, Yamaparwweśa, wawakarāṇa, mit(h)una rāśi, irikā diwāśa ny ajña paduka Śrī mahārāja, rājādhirāja, pa(ra)meśwara, Śrī wirālaṇḍa-gopāla, abhanggarāhuttarāya, parinatāraranaka:ājanya-mukutakotipuñjapinjapādārāwinda, sāmīterapani-puñārājaśraicedabbayānaka, wijitaripu Kuladayitā jalanicaya purāmaṇḍalārṇawa, sakalasujananikarahy-dayakumuda wikāśanīśākara, akilapratipakṣanīśāndha-kārakṣayadiwākara, wiprakṣatrobhayakulawisuddha Śrī sundarapāṇḍyadewādhīśwaranāma rājēbhīṣeka, wi-

b. kramottunggadewa. tinaḍah de sang mantri katriṇi, rakryan mantri hino dyah Śrī rangganātha, arātibhayang-kara, rakryan mantri sirikan dyah kameśwara, aninditalakṣaṇa, rakryan mantri halo, dyah wiśwanātha, awaryyanujabhima, makapurassara rake tuhan mapatih ring daha, dyah puruṣeśwara, raṇārikampanākaraṇa bhujaparākrama, sāḁṣāt praḁālāmratieubaddhakēn sthirataṇa nī palinggih Śrī mahārāja siniwi ring kanakamaḁimayatoraṇakālpawykṣa, samering mwang rake tuhan mapatih ring majhapahit, dyah balāyudha, agaṇita guṇāninditalakṣaṇa, umingsor i parataṇḍa rakryan ring pakirakiran makabehan, rakryan dmung pu samaya, raṇānggābhīśama, rakryan kanuruhan pw anēkakan samarārisenātaka, rakrya-

- 2 o. a ranga, pu jalu, raṇānindyabala, rakryan mapatih ring kapulungan, pu dedes, wirāniwāryya, rakryan mapatih ring matahun, pu tanu, raṇāturasahāya, muang sang mantri wiḁḁbhengitajāśa, sang āryya patipati, pu kapat, paramānindita ( ) atya, sang āryya wangāprāḁa, pu mēnur, raṇaranggābharāṇa, sang āryya rājaparākrama, mapañji elām, nayavinayānindita, sang āryya jayapati, pu pamor, atisatyānukūla, sang āryya sundarādhirājadāśa, pu kapasa, sa(ka)lagrāmānūrāgagūṇa, sang āryya rājādhikāra, pu tanga, satatanayātiśūḁkamacintanātandrita, sāḁṣāt pinēkahāhudaṇḍa Śrī mahārāja an satata umalocita ri karakṣaning sayawadvipamaṇḍala, tan kawuntat sang dharmmādhikaraṇanyāyānyāyawyawahārawiścedaka, sang pamgēt i tirwan, ḁa-

- b. ng ācāryya rāṣawijaya, mapañji sahāsa, nyāyawyākaraṇapariśamāpta, sang pamgēt i kaṇḍamuhī, dang ācāryya wiśwanātha, mapañji paragata, sangkyāśāstrapariśamāpta, sang pamgēt i manghuri, dang ācāryya ( ) hānātha, nyāyawyākaraṇapariśamāpta, sang pamgēt i pamwatan, dang ācāryya dharmmarāja, nyāyāśāstrapariśamāpta, sang pamgēt i jāmbī, dang ācāryya śiwanātha, nyāyawyākaraṇapariśamāpta, dharmmadhyakṣa ring kaśaiwan, sang pamgēt i raṇu kabayan, dang ācāryya smaranātha, nyāyawyākaraṇapariśamāpta, dharmmadhyakṣa ring kaśogatan, pungkwi padēlēgan, dang ācāryya kanakamuni, boddhatarikawyākaraṇapariśamāpta, i pinggor ny ājñā śrī mahārāja, kumonakēn inkang wanweng tuba ṅaru, muang i kusambyan, padamlakna sang hyang ājñā ha-
- 3 a. ji prāśasti tūṇaṇḍa minadwayalañcana, thāni watēk atagan janatōsan, ( ) cihāa nikang tubaṅaru muang kusambyan, an sinuk sima swatantrādēgringgit, sambandha, gati dyah makaradhwaja, manghyang warānugraha śrī mahārāja, ri dadyanikang tubaṅaru muang kusambyan susukēn sima swatantrādēg ringgit, makaphala kaswatantrāni sawka dyah makaradhwaja, muang mēntasaknang kulawargga ring tubaṅaru muang kusambyan, mārīyakeparatantra, kadi tingkahnya ring puhun mālama, kewala sima swatantrādēg ringgit, mangkana rasa ni panghyang dyah makaradhwaja i pāduka śrī mahārāja, phalaphala ning drḍḍabhakti ri śrī mahārāja abhimata dyah makaradhwaja, muang ri wruhanikang sakalaloka ri kadharmmaparāyan dyah makaradhwaja, muang ri tan alangalang pamtib dyah makaradhwaja, makadada-
- b. ha awajitwa kuminkiu sthīratara ni palinggih śrī mahārāja siniwining sayawadwipamaṇḍala, umi-lakṣaṇa ning suputra, ikang drḍḍabhakti satata umalocita ri tanpanaserasangkeng mārīyadayukti, kewala tumirwa kaperārthan śrī mahārāja, sumaphalākna sih śrī mahārāja satatāmaramarah ring beyopadeya, ikā gati dyah makaradhwaja mangkana, matangnyan turun warānu-

graha śrī mahārāja api tuwin enak wruh śrī mahārāja an tuhutu kuḷadipaksanggēh dyah makaradhwaḷa putra de śrī mahārāja matangnyan inayubhāgya rasa panghyang dyah makaradhwaḷa de śrī mahārāja, makaphala wruhanikang sakalajana ri kadharminḡtan śrī mahārāja, ikang tan wnanḡ tan masih ring uwus mulahakēn dharmmaning sewa-

- 4 a. kottama, muang tan pḡat ring kaparahiten inulaha-kēn śrī mahārāja, an tuhutu wiṣṇuwatara inadhī-  
 āthāna sang paramasujana pīratīṣṭa, irikang rājya i  
 majhapahit kāngkēn prasāda makapraḡāla rake tuhan  
 mapatih dyah puruṣcīwara makapunpun anak ang  
 aayawadwīpamaḡḡala, makāḡḡa ikang nūṣa madhura  
 taṇjungpurādi, yatāmīlākēn ayabyayaning sakalajanana-  
 satata bhakti mangarccana ri paduka śrī mahārāja,  
 muang po ḡapaṣwat nikang nūṣaparanūṣa kāngkēn  
 pangrāḡakar gatinyantana kaḡḡan prāptāngkēn prati-  
 warṣa, matangnyan enak ta pangarccana nikang sewa-  
 kottama mulahakēn kaparahiten muang tumakṣa tguhan  
 ing swadharṡma kāngkēn kriyā japa samādhi ning  
 manghyang turun i warānugraha śrī mahārāja, an prasi-  
 b. ddha wiṣṇupratiwimba makawykṡi, wnanḡ śrī  
 mahārāja wīgrahānugraha ring sakalajana, dyah makara-  
 dhwaḷa pwa yogra turunana warānugraha, matangnyan  
 dinadyakēn ta sang hyang ājāṣa haji prasāsti tinanḡa  
 minadwayalaṡcana, knūtana ni samasānak ing tuhaṡaru  
 muang kusambyan sinusuk simādēḡ ringḡt tan  
 kaparābyāpāra kadi tingkahnya ring puhun malama,  
 anghing samasānak ing tuhaṡaru muang samasānak  
 ing kusambyan atah pramāṡa ri salēbak wukirnya,  
 tkeng gaga rēḡknya, kunēḡ parimāṡa ni lmaḡ nikang  
 tuhaṡaru, muang kusambya (n), ring purwwa, asidaktan  
 muang ika pamulung, mangidul mēntas ing lwah,  
 dudug ing agneya, anoju tugu kulumpang, sapakliran  
 muang pamulung, muang kawalēdan, muang ikang  
 wadu tngah, mangulwan mluk a-
- 5 a. ngidul angulwan, tkeng dakṣiṡa, sapakliran muang  
 wanu tngah, muwah angulwan mluk, angidul angulwan

muwah angulwan amnēr tke pinggir ing lwah, sapakliran muang wanua tngah mangidul atut pinggir ing lwah, mangulwan atut pinggir ing lwah, dudug ing neiriti, sapakliran muang wanua tngah, muang paḍaḍa, mēntas angalor, sapakliran muang paḍaḍa, mangalor muwah tkeng paścima, sapakliran muang paḍaḍa, mangetan mluk angalor aniku lelawa, mangalor amnēr dudug ing bāyabya sapakliran muang bana, muang pangeran, mangetan anutug ing utara, sapakliran muang pangeran, muwah mangetan dudug ing aśānya, sapakliran muang pangeran muang pamulung, mluk angidul angulwan mātra, muwah angidul amnēr tkeng pūrwa, sapakliran muang pamulung samangkana

b. hingan i lmah nikang tuhañaru, muang ing kusambyan, hana ta sawah phalaśrama pangrēṇenikang samasānak ing tuhañaru i dyah makaradhwaja, sawah tēmpah, l, bleh, muwah ikang samasānak ing kusambyan asung pangrēṇa i dyah makaradhwaja sawah tēmpah, l, ika ta katēmwa kalilirakne tke dlāha ning dlāha kabhuktya deni sasantāna pratisantāna dyah makaradhwaja, ten kawungkilwungkila de samasānak ing tuhañaru, muang samasānak ing kusambyan, apan uwus paronah phalaśrama dyah makaradhwaja, mangkana krama nikang sima i tuhañaru, muang kusambyan, kunēng tingkah nika kalih, kewala sima swatantrādēg ringgit tan kolahulaha de sang prabhu mantry anāgata, tke dlāha ning dlāha, muang ten kaparabyāpāra de

6 a. ning nāyaka pratyaya, ten kneng turuturun sagēm sarakut, bwat hajyan agēng aḍmit lakwalakwan adoh aparē, muang tan katamana deni winawa sang mana kabini, lwi (rlaya, pangkur, tirip, muang pinghe wahuta rama, lawan sakweh ning mangilala dīwyahaji, wuluwulu parawulu agēng aḍmit, makāding misra paramisra, panghurang, kring, paḍēm, manimpiki, paranakan, limus galuh, mangriñci, manghuri, perang, sungka, dhūra, pangaruhan, sungging, pangunēngan, taji, watutajēm, suku luwarak, rakasang, ramaṇang, piningic, katangaran, tapahaji, airhaji, malandang,

lca, lablab, kukap, pakuwangi, kutat, tangkil, trēpan, watu walang, salyut, maniga, pamanikan, sikpan, rumban, wilang wanwa, wir

b. jikawah, panggare, tingkis, mawi, manambangi, tanghiran, tuhadagang, tuhanambi, tuha judi, juru gosali, mangrunbe, mangguñje, juru huñjēman, juru jalir, pabisir, pawuruk, pangjungkung, pawungkunung, pakalangkang, pakilingking, linggang, srēpan, karērēngan, pulung paḍi, pawlangwang, pakuda, pahaliman, urutan, dampulan, tpung kawung, sungung, pangurang, wli tāmbe, wli hapū, wli pañjut, wli wadung, miśrahino, miśranginangin, pabrēai, pakatimang, palamak, sinagiha, sahlun haji watēk i jro, ityewamādi kabeh, tantamātah irikang sima i tuhañaru muang ing kusambyan mangkana tekang suka dūhka, kadyanganing mayang tanpawwah walu ru (mahmbat ing natar, wipati wangke kabunan, rah kasawur ing

7 a. natar, wikkapala, hastacapala, duhilatēn, hidukasirat, amijlakēn wuryaning kikir, amuk, amungpang, lūdan, tūtan, angiapratyangsa, danda kudanda, mandihalādi, kewala samasānak atah pramāṇa ika kabeh tkeng miśrāñcēmbul, amahang, anglaka, anggumarang, añarub, anulang wungkuḍu, aṅangwring, angubar, angapus, amdēl, anggula, angdyun, anubut, agawe suri, agawe kisi, wusuwusu, payung wlu, mopih, anipah, rungki, anganamanām, aṅjaring, anēpis, anawang, amisaṅdung manuk, anangkēb, akalakala, angrajut, yāwat umunggwirikang tuhañaru, muang kusambyan, kewala samasānak atah pramāṇerīya, muang sadrwaḥa hajinya muwah madr-

b. wya ta samasānak padagang, lwirnya, atitih saprāṇa, abhaṣaṇa, sadasar, angawari, sadasar, angujal, satuan, adagang bakulan, sa isi ning gagā, sa isining sawah, sa isining rawa, sa isi ning sāgara, sa isi ning rwang, alih prāṇa hinganya, angulang kbo, 20, kbonya, angulang sapi, 40, sapianya, angulang wḍus, 80, wḍusanya, angulang celeng, sawurugan celenganya, angulung itik, sawantayan, agulungan, sarangkang, angarah, rwang

lumpang, pande wai, pande dang, pande mas, pande gangsa, pande dadap, amaranggi, kapwa rwang gusali, alukis rwang pajaran, undahagi, satuhan, acadar, rwang pacaderan, atwih rwang widay, amalantĕn, rwang pama-lwan, ika

- 8 a. ta hingan i sambyawara nikang tuhañaru muang kusambyan, kinalihanya, kunĕng yan lwiĥ sangkeng pahingan iriya, kaknana, ya de sang maagilala drwya haji sapaniskaranya, tuhanikang kinawnangakĕn samasĕnak ing tuhañaru muang kusambyan, rikawĕhaning rare sĕtakĕdi, curing kinanggyan, amaguta pajĕng tiga warĕna, agilanggilang ampyal gading, askar katang-katang, makawasa, gĕlung grĕt, asĕndi wulung, tinuntun ing alangalang apangharĕp gĕndug, anukana kawö, kukuwaka, luwĕluwĕr, wttiwali, kalä, angkusa, anandang, salwining ratna makĕdi maqik agĕng, apawarĕna banantĕn, amamah kukulan, anuntun celeng, atkĕn, walira, ĕucyan, ungangan, tulis wrĕng, andĕlan susu, dinulang ing madhu parkka, santi, pasilih tĕmping, pasilih galuh, pa—

b. silih kambungan, pasilihĕning kdi, präs watang, präs bundĕr, präs cira, präs brissĕdi, präs siddhayuga, präs towuhtawuhan, aglang mäs ring tangan ing suku, anandang tiulis ing ĕmas, palungan pinikul inulĕsan banantĕn, anunggi rare yāngĕngding gĕnding, apanganjur tĕwĕk, wnan angudaaspyakluhanapahangan, anuntuna talyasabuk, cawĕt, wnan amuktyakna räjamangsa, prang gdang yan polih, maling wnan usirĕn ing kawula, ming (g) at, ndatan ulih nyāngĕnggatakĕn, wnan usirĕn ing maling tja, tahirĕn yanpahutang, wnan aĕjamaha rare kawula, mangkana kinawnangakĕn samasĕnak ing tuhañaru muang kusambyan, ri tlasnyan paripurnna pagĕh anugraha ĕri mahārāja, manghaturakĕn ta samasĕnak i tuhañaru muang samasĕnak ing ku—

- 9 a. sambyan, pamuspa i ĕri mahārāja, sayathāsakti, muwah parataṅda ring pakirakitan makabehan, inasĕn pasĕk pagih yathāsambhawa kading lagi sowang sowang, muwah parasūnya sapinakawadana nikang thani

sakaparē, inasān pasēk pagēh saparikramaring lagi, ri  
 tlas ning adrun pasēk pagēh tiningkah ta saji ning awaju,  
 raweh, wadihati, akudur, sahapirak, ma, I, wdihan  
 sahle sowang mangdiri tekang wadihati ring sabhā-  
 maddhya i sor ning turumbukan, das mottarasangga,  
 mamukhawandhana, makelambi sangke harēp, mandēlan  
 pāda, sahawidhiwidhāna ning anusuk sīma ring lagi  
 hinarēpakning anawaju banak thani, lumkes tekang  
 akudur manētēk gulu ning ayām, smantingakēn  
 hantiga, humarēp ing krodhadēśa, mamangmang  
 manapathe, sumawakcang

b. minangmang ring lagi, lingnya, om indah ta kita  
 kamu hyang haricandana agasti maharṣi, purwwadakṣiṇa  
 paścimottara ūrdham adhaḥ maddhya, rawi, śaśi pṛthivy  
 āpas tejo bāywakāśa, dharmamahorātra, sandhyātraya,  
 yakṣa rākṣasa piśāca pretāsura gandharwa kinnara  
 mahoraga, yama baruṇa kuwera bāsawaputra dewatā,  
 paścakūśika nandīśwara mahākāla śadwināyaka nāgarāja  
 durggadewi caturāśrama, ananta hyang kalamṛtyu,  
 sakweh ta bhūtagaṇa, kita prasiddha rumakṣa ng  
 yawadwipamaṇḍala, kita sakala sakṣi tumon adoh aparē,  
 ring rabineng kulm, kita umamuk ing sarwwabbhūta, ḍrēngō  
 teking sāpalha samaya pamangmang mami ri kita kamu  
 hyang kabeh, yāwat ikang wwang agēng admit  
 sawakanya, yadyan caturwarṇa, brāhmiṇa kṣatriya, wai-

10. a. śya, śūdra, athaca, caturāśrami, brahmacāri gṛhastha  
 vanaprastha, bhikṣuka, mwang pinghay awajuhakurug  
 anakthāni, makādi sang prabhu mantry anāgata, yāwat  
 umulahulah ri kaswatantranikang sīma i tubaṇaru, muang  
 kusambyan, muang ngaruddha mungilmungila, mari  
 kṣiṇnakna, mne hlēm tka ning dlāha ning dlāha,  
 ngūningūni yanpangdahuta sang hyang upala sīma,  
 angalihakna ri tan yogya unggwananya, salwiraning  
 manglilangakna kaswatantranikang sīma i tubaṇaru,  
 muang kusambyan jah tasmūt bwat karmmaknanya,  
 patyananta ya kamu hyang, dayantat patyani ya, yan  
 aparaparan, humaliwat ata ya ring tgal sahutēn ing ula  
 mandi, ring alas manglaogkabana mingmang, dmakēn

dening wyaghra, ring wwai sanghapēn ing wuhaya, ring sāgara, sanghapēn dening minarodra, prangprang, timinggala ma—

- b. bagila, ulā lampe, yan turun kapagute luŋcip ing paras, kagulungeng jurang parangan, kasēmsēma rēkrēmpwa yan humaliwat ri sdēng ing huden, sambērēn dening glap, yan anher ing umah katibānana bājragñi, tanpanoliha ring wuntat tarung ring pangadēgan, tampyal ring kiwa, uwah i ri tngēnan, rēmēk (k) apalanya, bubak dajanya, blah wtēngnya, wētwaren dalēmnya, cucup utēknya, inum rahnya, mangan dagingnya, pēpēdakēn wkas i prāñāntika, wawa ring mahārōrawa, weha muktya sangsāra, phalanya n angulahaku anyāyaprawṛtti, kawulatan de sang hyang trayodaśa sāksi | astu, o (ng), siddhir astu ||o||

*Translation.*

- 1 a. ||O|| Hall 1 The holy Śaka year past, 1245, the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month, *Tunglai*,<sup>13</sup> *Umanis*,<sup>14</sup> Tuesday, *Kralwat*,<sup>15</sup> the position of the planet is in the East, the star is Ārdrā, the deity is Rudra, the region is of Varuṇa, the yoga is Brahma, the muhūrta is Vījaya, the presiding deity of the orb is Yama, the Karaṇa is Wawa, the Zodiac sign is that of Mithuna. At this time the orders of H. M. the auspicious great king, king of kings, who is god (-like) and exterminator of heroes (*uśūlāṇḍagopāla*) who eliminates coming danger by stretching [hands] towards the dagger (‡),<sup>16</sup> whose lotus-feet have been encaged in immense *Koṭis* of diadems of homage-paying princes and kings, who

13 Mal.-Polynesian day of the six-day week.

14 Mal.-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

15 This is expressive of a Mal. Polynesian time reckoning.

16 The text has *ubhanggawāḥkṛta-rūpa*, of which the component *rūpata* is not known to me. If this is regarded as a copyist's mistake for *maḥat(t)a*, the above translation may be accepted.

separates the head of the kings of enemies expert in unabating contests, who is dreadful, whose enemies have been conquered, who is the protector of waters, the circle of cities and the ocean<sup>17</sup>, who is (like) the Moon that opens the heart-lotuses of the assemblage of all good men, who, in destroying all enemies, is just like the Sun that dispels the darkness of the night, who is exalted by the *Vipras* and the *Kṣatriyas*, who is the auspicious one with the coronation-name of *Sundarapāṇḍyadevādhīvara*.<sup>18</sup>

b. exalted like a god in prowess,<sup>19</sup>—were received by the three Hon. Ministers (*viz.*), *rakryan mantri hino* (who is) *dyah Śri Rangganātha*, dreadful to the enemies, *rakryan mantri siriken* (who is) *dyah Śri Rangganātha*, dreadful to the enemies, *rakryan mantri siriken* (who is) *dyah Kāmeśvara*, of unblemished character, *rakryan mantri halu* (who is) *dyah Viśvanātha*, undaunted like the younger brother of Bhīma, having at their head *rakṣa tuhan mapatih* of Daba (named) *dyah Puruṣeśvara*, who is a source of fright to enemies in warfare through his prowess of arms, who is just an agent to strengthen and to redouble the firmness of the seat of the suspicious great King which is graced by a gate set with gold and jewels and by a wishing-tree,<sup>20</sup> along with *rakṣa tuhan mapatih* of Majapahit (named) *dyah Halāyudha* having innumerable qualities and unrepachable signs,—and communicated<sup>21</sup> to *paratanḍa rakryan* of different

17 The Pāṇḍya-kings, on the other hand, boasted that they went forth to conquer the seas. The idea is clearly the same, *viz.*, supremacy over the ocean.

18 *Lit.* 'Overlord of *Sundarapāṇḍyadeva*.'

19 The above translation may be accepted if the text-portion does not denote another title of the king.

20 Another interpretation is possible, *viz.*, ".....great King who reigned from the gate (of the throne) set with gold and jewels like a wishing-tree," etc.

21 The construction is, "The orders of.....were received by .....and communicated to....." etc.

departments (viz.,) *raḡryan dṛmaṅ* (who is) *pu Samaya* delighting in the field of war, *raḡryan ḡanurahaṅ* (who is) *pu Anḡkakan*, the destroyer of enemy-hosts in the battle-field, *raḡrya-*

- 2 a. *n rangga* (who is) *pu Jala*, of unsurpassing valour in warfare, *raḡryan mapatih* of *Kapulungan* (who is) *pu Dedeṡ*, an irresistible hero, *raḡryan mapatih* of *Matahun* (named) *pu Tanu* who offers succour to those afflicted in war, and the *mantri Vṛddha*<sup>22</sup> expert in understanding demeanour (*inggitajña*), *sang āryya patipatti* (who is) *pu Kapat*, extremely proficient in....., *sang āryya wanglaprāṇa* (who is) *pu Mṇur*, to whom delights in warfare are the only adornments, *sang āryya rājaparākrama* surnamed *Elām*, irreproachable in politics and discipline, *sang āryya Jayopati* (who is) *pu Pamor*, prone to perfect truth, *sang āryya Sundarādhi-rājadāsa* (who is) *pu Kapasa*, foremost in different kinds of qualities for staunch attachment<sup>23</sup>, along with *sang āryya Rājādhiḡara* (who is) *pu Tanga*, always alert through the speculation of extremely complicated politics, certainly a punishing arm to the auspicious great King who always talks of the protection of the whole circle of *Yavadvipa*, and not leaving behind (in consideration) the Hon. *Dharmmadhiḡaraṇa* (lit. judge) who is the distinguisher between righteous and evil processes, *sang paṅḡt i tirwan*<sup>24</sup> (who is) *Da-*  
 b. *ṅ ācāryya Rāgavijaya mapañji Sāhasa* who has finished the (lore of) logic and grammar, *sang paṅḡt i ḡaṇḡdumuhi* (who is) *ḡaṅ ācāryya Viśvanātha mapañji*

22 The older interpretation may be "the *mantri* (i.e., minister) who is old and expert in....." etc. The difficulty is whether we can accept *Vṛddha* as a proper name. It is doubtful if a minister can be denoted without a name or a surname. Cf. *Nāgarakṛ.*, II:12.

23 The text as it stands yields no sense. I suggest the emendation into *Saḡḡḡapāmānurāḡgana*.

24 For an explanation of this and some of the following terms, see *BKI.*, 90, pp. 239 ff.

Paragata who has finished the (lore of) Sāṃkhya philosophy, sang pangēt i manghuri (who is) dang ācāryya ( ) hānātha who has finished the (lore of) logic and grammar, sang pangēt i panwatan (who is) dang ācāryya Dharmarāja who has completed the lore of logic, sang pangēt i jāmbi (who is) dang ācāryya Śivanātha who has finished the (lore of) logic and grammar, the dharmādhyakṣa (i. e., religious superintendent) of the Śaiva institutions, (viz.) sang pangēt i raṇu ḥaba yan (who is) dang ācāryya Samaranātha who has finished the (lore of) logic and grammar, the dharmādhyakṣa of the Buddhist institutions, (viz.) my lord of Padālāgan (who is) dang ācāryya Kanakamuni who has finished the Buddhist sciences of logic and grammar. And accordingly the orders of the auspicious great king were sent to the villages at Tuhañaru and at Kusambyan to bring into execution the sacred royal

- 3 a. command of the praśasti that has received the seal of a pair of fishes. (These) places belonged to and were sorted under Janatosan (who was) furnished with the seals of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan that have been marked off into free regions with an image thereon. The reason thereof was the conduct of dyah Makaradhvaja who begged the excellent favour of the auspicious great king for having the (villages of) Tuhañaru and Kusambyan marked off into free regions with an image thereon. This may have the consequence of freedom for dyah Makaradhvaja and his children and the freedom of the groups of families in Tuhañaru and Kusambyan which cease thereby to be dependent on others. Even so were their regulations in earlier times that only the śima (i. e., lands) should be free with an image thereon. Such were the contents of the requests of dyah Makaradhvaja to H. M. the auspicious Great King. Rewards for staunch devotion to the auspicious Great King were desired by<sup>25</sup>

25 Lit. 'are the desires of'.

*dyah* Makaradhvaja. And all persons testified to the virtuousness of *dyah* Makaradhvaja, because, without vacillation *dyah* Makaradhvaja did his best in

- b. risk (?) of his life to strive after the better stability of the seat of the auspicious Great King who reigned over the whole circle of Yavadvipa, thus fulfilling the traits of a good son. For this staunch devotion, he always tried<sup>26</sup> not to be led astray from (the path of) conduct and reason, and always imitated the example of philanthropic works (set) by the auspicious Great King. The regards for the auspicious Great King bore fruits in that these always prompted him<sup>27</sup> (to avoid) what must be thrown out and (to do) what must be retained. Such was the conduct of *dyah* Makaradhvaja. In consequence of this fact, the auspicious Great King bestowed the favour. Indeed, the auspicious Great King himself was cognisant of the sincerity of *dyah* Makaradhvaja and his son's devotion that added lustre to their family by their services to the auspicious Great King. In consequence of these, the substance of the request of *dyah* Makaradhvaja was approved by the auspicious Great King. It had this consequence that all men testified to the righteousness of the auspicious Great King. This one (*i. e.*, Makaradhvaja) could not but love (him) and (accordingly), in full measure, he performed the duties of an excellent
- 4 a. servant and (this), without dissociating himself from philanthropic works done by the auspicious Great King who has indeed been called an incarnation of Viṣṇu. (This) extremely noble personage has been installed

26 Lit. 'considered'.

27 Probably the king is intended here. Cf. a similar passage in the Penampihan inscription of 1191 Śaka. See *OJO.* LXXIX, pl. 4a or *JGIS.*, Vol. II, pp. 59, 66.

in each temple<sup>28</sup> of the kingdom of Majapahit through the instrumentality of *raja tuhan mapatih* (who is) *dyah* Puruṣeśvara, exercising suzerainty over all people in the whole circle of Yavadvipa, subjugating, in the first place, the islands of Madura and Tañjungpura.<sup>29</sup> These now presented the income and expenditure (*ayabyaya*)<sup>30</sup> of all persons who, with devotion, always paid respects to H. M. the auspicious Great King. Moreover, the work of the inhabitants<sup>31</sup> (?) of each of these and other islands consisted in the gift of flower-baskets<sup>32</sup> without fail (?) as each year arrived. In consequence of the fact that (the king) also delighted in the offerings of homage of the excellent servant who practised philanthropic works (*Kaparahitan*), (the latter) maintained the stability of his own *dharma*, such as, rituals, mumbling (of *mantras*) and concentration on prayer. (So there was) the bestowal of the excellent favour from the auspicious Great King who is known

b. as having the expression of an image of Viṣṇu. The auspicious Great King can be inimical or friendly to all persons. *Dyah* Makaradhvaja however is a fit person for the bestowal of the excellent favour, in consequence of which this was transformed into the sacred royal command of the *prāsasti* that has received the seal

28 *Prasāda* may be equal to *prāsāda*, of which the Skt. meaning is 'palace', the Old-Jav. meaning is 'temple'. If the literal meaning with *prāsāda* has to be retained, the passage should be translated as, '.....Majapahit which is comparable to a gift of favour'. This would be of great significance for the history of this period.

29 Borneo.

30 Both in Sanskrit as well as Old-Javanese *ayabyaya* means 'income and expenditure'. Probably, by *byaya* of the text we have to understand the 'means of expenditure'. In that case both the words are almost synonymous.

31 *Pāda* : *Paḍa*? *Paḍa* is not known to me. *Pura* which may be intended here is the equivalent of Skt. *Peśa*, i.e., citizens. In Old Javanese, Skt. *au* is equal to o., e.g., *gaurau* for *gaurau*, etc.

32 Cf. this passage with *OJO*, p. 14, inscr. No. XII. a.4; also *OJO*, p. 31, inscr. No. XXIII, 7.

of a pair of fishes. (This) has to be taken care of by the community of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan which have been marked off into free regions with an image thereon. These may not be interfered with by others. Such were their regulations in early times. Only the community at Tuhañaru and the community at Kusambyan are the sole authority over all their valleys and mounts (extending) up to arid grounds (and) morasses. What now concerns is the measurement of the grounds of Tuhañaru and Kusambya(n). In the East, they are margined by Pamulung; in the direction of the South they emerge out of (*i. e.*, margined by) the river with elevation towards the South-east; they go in the direction of Tugu Kulumpang separating from Pamulung and Kawalédan and the centre of Wadu; in the direction of the West they bend in

- 5 a. the South-West and come to the South; they separate from the middle of Wanu and, in the direction of the West, they touch the South-West with the Western side stretching up to the bank of the river; (they) separate from the middle of the village<sup>33</sup> towards the South (but) follow the bank of the river; towards the West (they) follow the bank of the river; stretching towards the North-East they separate from the middle of the village (and) from Padada; going by the direction of the North (they) separate from Padada; going by the direction of the North and coming towards the West they separate from Padada; in the North-Eastern direction they come across a bend (?)<sup>34</sup>; in the direction of the North they stretch out in elevation towards the North-West; they separate from Bana<sup>35</sup> and Pangeran; going

33 Another possible construction is, 'they separate from the middle of the village; towards the South they follow.....' etc.

34 The phrase *anjike labane* in connection with a boundary also occurs in the Gêdangan inscr. of 782 S.E. Vide FG., VII, pl. IV, b; also in K.O., p. 7, inscr. No. II, 2a, 3.

35 A place-name or a forest?

by the direction of the East towards the North they separate from Pengeran; further, going in the direction of the East (they) rise in elevation towards the North-East; they again separate from Pengeran and Panulung, bending only at the South-West; further, going by the direction of the South and stretching towards the East they separate from Pamulung. Such are the

b. boundaries of the ground of Tuhañaru and of Kusambyan. There are sawah-fields with fruits and cloisters standing in relation to the community of Tuhañaru with *dyah* Makaradhvaja. The sawah-fields are *tōmpoh* 1 in measurement; further, the community of Kusambyan standing in relation to *dyah* Makaradhvaja have sawah-fields (measuring) *tōmpoh* 1. These may be trod upon and inherited up to the remotest future and enjoyed by the children and further progeny of *dyah* Makaradhvaja, without being opposed by the community of Tuhañaru and the community of Kusambyan. Because fruits and cloisters completely stand in relation to *dyah* Makaradhvaja. Such are the regulations of the free regions of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan. And further, the regulations of both are that only the free regions with an image thereon may never be disturbed by the future kings and ministers up to the remotest future and may not be interfered with by the

6 a. *nāyaka*, *pratyago*; these may not be met and visited, robbed and attacked by the royal servants, great and small, who travel far and near, and may not be trodden<sup>36</sup> upon by being brought under all the worthy three (ministers, viz., *Pangkur*, *tirip*,<sup>37</sup> and *pinghe*,<sup>38</sup> *wahata rāma*; further, all of the *mangilala*

36 For the original meaning of this word (*Katamana*) see, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, II, p. 747; *TBG.*, LXV, p. 244, f.n. 69.

37 The copyist omits here the name of the other, viz., *tuwān*, which we usually find in the other records. cf. *OJO*, LXVIII, second face 13; *OJO*, LX, first face, 19.

38 Also spelt as *Pinghai*.

*dṛwayahaji*,<sup>39</sup> *waluwulu*,<sup>40</sup> *Parawuluwulu*,<sup>41</sup> (whether) great or small, having at their head *mīśra paramīśra*,<sup>42</sup> *pangharang*,<sup>43</sup> *ḱring*,<sup>44</sup> *paḍēm*,<sup>45</sup> *manimpiki*,<sup>46</sup> *paranaḱan*,<sup>47</sup> *limas galuh*,<sup>48</sup> *mangriñci*,<sup>49</sup> *manghuri parang*, *sungka*, *dhūra*,<sup>50</sup> *pangaruhan*,<sup>51</sup> *sungging*,<sup>52</sup> *pangunöngan*,<sup>53</sup> *taji*,<sup>54</sup> *watu tajém*,<sup>55</sup> *sukun*,<sup>56</sup> (*ha*) *lu warah*,<sup>57</sup> *roḱasang*.<sup>58</sup>

39 Collectors of taxes. *Vide* TBG., LVIII, p. 395, also *id.* LIX, pp. 130, 159, *fn.* 2.

40 Artisans in employment of the king?

41 Apparently a class of people.

42 In *VG.*, VII, p. 24, Kern translated this word by 'great and petty usurers'. Dr. Stutterheim plausibly suggests that the terms may signify 'chiefs'. *Vide* TBG., LXV, p. 246.

43 Kern translated this word by 'mendicant friar' in *VG.*, VII, p. 47; Dr. Stutterheim plausibly suggests that the term signifies *tuhun*, i.e. 'elder', 'village-head', etc.

44 A certain class of monks? cf. Kern, *VG.*, VII, p. 35.

45 Apparently a class of persons. Elsewhere we find *paḍēm apay* which literally means 'the extinguishing of fire'. For a detailed note on this term, see TBG., LXV, p. 247.

46 Cabinet-maker? *Vide*, *Kawi-Bali*. *Walt.*, IV, p. 521.

47 Kern translates this term by 'one belonging to a mixed caste' in *VG.*, VII, p. 47.

48 Goldsmith.

49 The root of the word is *uñci* meaning 'kind, sort', etc. Can the term mean 'one who describes things' that is an inspector?

50 For a detailed note, see Berg. *Middelniederländische Historische Tradition*, pp. 19 ff.; TBG., LXV, p. 254 ff. Here a class of smiths is probably intended. *Parang*, *sungka* and *dhūra* are articles of smith-work with special reference to weapons(?).

51 A class of smiths see TBG., LXV., pp. 228 ff., *fn.* 31.

52 Apparently a class of persons.

53 Apparently a class of persons. The joint among does not help us much in discovering its significance.

54 Apparently a class of persons.

55 A grinder of stones.

56 A class of medical men who invoke the aid of the gods to cure diseases by making offerings to them.

57 The Bal. gloss has *juru pengajah*. The term signifies 'persons from the retinue of the king rendering services as director of the orchestra, wayang and other entertainments'.

58 A certain class of persons.

*ramaṅg*,<sup>59</sup> *piningle*,<sup>60</sup> *katangaren*,<sup>61</sup> *tapahaji*,<sup>62</sup> *airhaji*,<sup>63</sup>  
*malandang*,<sup>64</sup> *lca*, *lablab*,<sup>65</sup> *kukap*,<sup>66</sup> *pakuwangi*,<sup>67</sup> *kutat*,<sup>68</sup>  
*tangkil*,<sup>69</sup> *trəpan*,<sup>70</sup> *watu walong*,<sup>71</sup> *salyut*,<sup>72</sup> *maniga*,<sup>73</sup>  
*pamanikan*,<sup>74</sup> *sikpan*,<sup>75</sup> *rumben*,<sup>76</sup> *wilang wanwa*<sup>77</sup> *wi—*

59 Apparently a class of persons.

60 According to v.d. Tuuk, this is a variation for *winingle*. Bal. gloss has *jawa gēnding* (musician?).

61 Cook. Bal. gloss has *jawa jakun*.

62 Dr. Stutterheim refers to *Nāgarakṛ.* [75: 2: 4:] where *air haji* appears as a *mantri* (*mantri har-haji*) who takes care of Brāhmana hermits. Here both the terms probably signify some kind of jars or heads connected with religious duties. Dr. Stutterheim is probably right in thinking that the use of the word *tapa* in the sense of ascetic is not very probable here.

63 See *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, IV, 504. The term signifies someone who institutes a dice-play or cock-scraping and collects 10 p.c.

64 A certain class of persons.

65 Lit. *artocarpus incisa* or bread-fruit tree. Its significance here is uncertain.

66 Apparently a class of persons.

67 In a similar place in *K.O.*, p. 16, text. VII, 4a, 1, we have *kutuk*, meaning a class of officers. *Kutut* is not known to me.

68 A class of officers in the special service of the King. See *T.B.G.*, LXV, p. 252; also *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, IV, p. 73.

69 A class of persons (officers?).

70 This is probably a class of persons playing a certain rôle in connexion with erection of sacred stones. See *T.B.G.*, LXV, pp. 255-6.

71 A class of musicians?

72 Kern brings this word into relation with the Jav. *Patri* meaning 'soldiers'. This is probably a secondary meaning. The root is *mo : tige*. Hence it means persons joining three things, i.e., wicker-work makers. Vide *T.B.G.*, LXV, p. 256.

73 Jewellers.

74 A class of officers. The interpretation of this term by Stutterheim (op. cit.) appears doubtful to me on account of the occurrence of *pamanikan* between *maniga* and *sikpan*.

75 Setters of jewels.

76 'Land-teller' (Kern, *V.G.*, VII, p. 48); according to Stutterheim 'division (divider?) of grounds in communal possession'.

b. *jikawah*,<sup>77</sup> *panggar*,<sup>78</sup> *tingkis*,<sup>79</sup> *masi*,<sup>80</sup> *manambangi*,<sup>81</sup>  
*tanghiran*,<sup>82</sup> *tuhadagang*,<sup>83</sup> *tuhanambi*,<sup>84</sup> *tuha juḍi*,<sup>85</sup>  
*juru gosali*,<sup>86</sup> *mangrumbe*,<sup>87</sup> *manggunje*,<sup>88</sup> *juru huñjēman*,<sup>89</sup>  
*juru jalir*,<sup>90</sup> *pabisir*,<sup>91</sup> *pawuruk*,<sup>92</sup> *pangjungkung*,<sup>93</sup>  
*pawungkunung*,<sup>94</sup> *pakolangkang*,<sup>95</sup> *pakilingking*,<sup>96</sup>  
*linggang*,<sup>97</sup> *srēpan*,<sup>98</sup> *karōrēngan*,<sup>99</sup> *pulung padl*,<sup>100</sup>  
*pawlangwang*,<sup>101</sup> *pakuda*,<sup>102</sup> *pahaliman*,<sup>103</sup> *urulan*,<sup>104</sup>  
*dampulan*,<sup>105</sup> *tpung kawung*,<sup>106</sup> *sungung*,<sup>107</sup> *pangurang*<sup>108</sup>

77 'Pot-washers' (Kern, *Ibid.*, pp. 47 ff.). Stutterheim suggests persons with the task of bathing women 40 days after their delivery. See T.H.G., LXV, pp. 257 ff.

78 Apparently a class of persons.

79 Also *apoli tangkis*. A class of persons probably connected in some way with war-ammunition.

80 Workers of articles with bamboo?

81 Makers of ropes.

82 A class of persons.

83 Traders.

84 Medical men or sower of roots of medical plants?

85 Officers having control over houses instituting dice-games.

86 Elsewhere *tuh gosali*, smiths.

87 Corresponding to Indian *cāṇas*?

88 According to Juyeboli, *kasau-makara* for Kria.

89 A class of persons.

90 The head of prostitutes.

91 A class of persons.

92 A ferry-man.

93 Apparently a class of persons. Crew of ships?

94 A class of persons.

95 Both mean heads of rice-granaries.

96 A class of persons.

97 A class of officers.

98 Binders of *padl*.

99 Slaves engaged for *Isanney*?

100 Officers over horses.

101 Officer over elephants.

102 Apparently a class of people.

103 An attendant of horses.

104 Copyists of palm-leaf MSS. *Vide also* T.H.G., LXV, p. 260.

105 Messenger.

106 The name of this officer has been repeated twice. See note on *pangurang* in § a.

*wli tām̃bā*,<sup>107</sup> *wli hapū*,<sup>108</sup> *wli pañjut*,<sup>109</sup> *wli wadung*,<sup>110</sup> *miśrahino*,<sup>111</sup> *miśranginangin*,<sup>112</sup> *pabr̃ši*,<sup>113</sup> *paḷatimang*,<sup>114</sup> *palamak*,<sup>115</sup> *sinagiha*,<sup>116</sup> *sahulan haji*,<sup>117</sup> royal slaves of the inner apartments, etc.; all (such persons) may not tread upon the free regions of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan. Even so,<sup>118</sup> the good and bad things (occurring in these free regions), such as, the pinang-blossom that bears no fruit, a pumpkin that creeps along the ground, death, corpse bedewed,<sup>119</sup> blood spilt on the

- 7 a. ground,<sup>120</sup> rashness in speech,<sup>121</sup> rashness with hands,<sup>122</sup> sprinkled spittle that one must swallow, uncovering of magically forged weapons,<sup>123</sup> *amok*-making, molestation

107 Dealers in rupa.

108 Dealers in lime.

109 Dealers in light, illumination, etc.

110 Dealers in hatchets.

111 An officer who brings (?) unless (of the King?). See TBG., LXV, p. 258.

112 It signifies buffoon: cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 258; BKJ., 1924, p. 284.

113 According to Kern: (VG., VII, p. 49), cushion-carriers of the King.

114 Dealers of *ketimang-tites*?

115 Tallow-chandler.

116 A class of officers.

117 According to Kern (VG., VII, p. 49), 'slaves of landlords, slaves maintained out of luxury'. Stutterheim suggests 'slaves coming to the king's possession out of misdeeds.' See TBG., LXV, p. 266.

118 This is a stereotyped passage and already occurs in the *Gedangan* inscr. of 782 S.E., plate VI, b. Vide Kern, VG., VII, p. 36. We are so far removed from Old-Javanese times and language that we do not properly understand the significance of the passage. In recent years, Dr. Stutterheim has thrown some light on it.

119 Vide Junker, *Een Oudjavanisch woordenboek*, 1885, nos. 66 and 67. The 'blood spilt' was gathered by mischievous persons and this formed a kind of poison; the ground thereunder was regarded as antidote to it. So 'blood spilt' was dreaded by the Javanese people. See *Babad Tanah Jawi*, pp. 264-266, ed. Meinema. TBG., LXV, p. 271, fn. 74.

120 *Vākṣarūpa* and *Dandapārūpa* of Śkt. jurists.

121 This was supposed to let loose the magical might of metals with which the weapon was constructed. Cf. BKJ., 1915, p. 246; TBG., LXV, p. 272.

of women,<sup>122</sup>.....<sup>123</sup> all sorts of punishments, abuse & —with all of them only the community (of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan) are solely concerned. (So also) with .....<sup>124</sup> (the trades in) black paints (?), lights, lac, .....<sup>125</sup> the making of roofs, thickening (?) of *morinda citrifolia*,<sup>126</sup> purple-red paints, red paints (?), tapes, blue dying-stuff, sugar, pots, turner's work, combs, shuttle (?) for the spinning wheel, spinning cotton, lines umbrella of different colours, leaf-sheath, *sirih*-plums,<sup>127</sup> sheath (?), wicker-works, net, fish seized with a kind of net, sack, birds that have been seized, beast-trapping, fancy buttons,—as long as these are found in (the villages of) Tuhañaru and Kusambyan, they are always subject to the authority of the community. Further, the taxes due to the King (from these places) are also the possessions of the community that can

b. transact business in such things as beasts; (they) can sell cotton-cloths,.....<sup>127</sup> art metal-works,.....<sup>127</sup> jewels (?). Each "master" can transact business with baskets having the products of arid grounds, having the products of irrigated fields (*sawaha*), having the products of marshy lands, having the products of seas, having the

122 Kern translated this word by "mistress" in his edition of the Gġdangin inscription. Dr. Deutscherich much more plausibly suggests the above meaning.

123 The known meanings of these words do not appear to be applicable here.

124 This word is not known to me. The root appears to be *garing* : *ang*+*um*+*garang*. *Karang* is a kind of flower.

125 In a corresponding place of the Wanagiri inscription (TBG., LXXIV, pp. 288, 294 and l. 3 on p. 294) we have *mamukut wongkudu*, i.e., the thickening of *wongkudu*. In the Singasari plate (TBG., LXV, pp. 236, 276) we have *manulang wongkudu* apparently in the above sense. The word *wongkudu* denotes a kind of plant with the root of which one paints cotton.

126 The text has *enipoh* = *s*+*nipoh* (= *Sepuh*?).

127 The known meanings of the word are not applicable here. The word has been repeated twice in the same breath.

products of four (lit. two and two) beasts. These are the fixed limits. If buffaloes are driven (?) into the market-place of the free regions then 20 buffaloes (are free from taxes); if cows are driven (?), 40 cows; if goats are driven (?), 80 goats; if boars are driven (?), all boars may be chased away; if geese are driven (?), full one cage (is free); in transport-service, by rolling up and packing up (things), two *lampangs* (are free). The iron-smith, potter, goldsmith, brass-smith, manufacturer of shields, *amaranggi*,<sup>128</sup> also the two *gusalis*, *alukis*,<sup>129</sup> the two *pājarana*, carpenter, each "master" may carry with one yoke (*i. e.*, cross-beam) two shoulder-loads,<sup>130</sup> also.....<sup>131</sup> (may carry with one yoke) two (shoulder-loads), the washer (may carry with one yoke)

- 8 a. two—<sup>131</sup>. These then are the regulations about the business of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan, of them both. And if there is anything more outside these stipulations, this may be touched (*i. e.*, taxed) by the Hon. Collectors of royal taxes (and) others. Others are certainly under the authority of the Community of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan for enjoyment with lads (and) children. They can use foot-bells and play with *Kangsi* (musical instruments). They can open three-coloured umbrellas, use the uncared-for *ampyal*-bamboos, small yellow coconuts, flowers, grass, breast-plate (*talisman*?). They can knot up hair-wreaths, make the feet blue-black—<sup>132</sup> for maintenance, desire for *gamelan* (-music), enjoy—<sup>132</sup> crabs, *waka* plants—<sup>132</sup> salve, herbs, plantains; they

128 Apparently a class of persons.

129 The text has *under* ..... *panadaran* which also occurs in the copper-plate from Singasari (TBG., LXV, p. 267). In the foot-note to these words on p. 275, Dr. Stutterheim says that *cader* may be due to confusion for *dader*. In that case we have to assume that these words were not only misunderstood by the copyist of the Singasari copper-plate but also by the writer of the O/D., No. XXX, 20, and also the copyist of the record under review, who lived in different centuries.

130 Apparently a class of persons.

131 The word is not known to me.

132 The known meanings of this word do not yield any sense here.

can use elephant-hook (*aṅkuśa*), dress themselves in all kinds of precious metals (*ratna*) having jewels (*māṇik*) of great size in the first instance, fine stuffs of clothes (*banantēn*) to cover themselves up, wooden bells.....<sup>133</sup> purificatory things—<sup>134</sup> extend (?) writing sheets, enjoy milk, place their mouths on the plate of honey (*madhuparka*), live here, use on each side precious stones of different colours, adorn

b. one another with flowers (?).<sup>135</sup> Each other may (see) to the purity of the eunuch (?).<sup>136</sup> (offerings like) *prās watang*, *prās bundār*, *prās cira*, *prās brisadi*, *prās siddhayuga*, *prās tuwuhtuwuhan*. They can (also) use golden bracelets on hands and on feet, the aides (being) carved out in gold; clothes may be twisted into thin folds, borne, and put on. They can admit (other) lads who can play music; they can carry (?) dagger; they can ride on horses, ox, use nose-ring, take part in social gatherings, put on (?) thread-girdle, loin-cloth; they can enjoy rich dishes (*rājamāṇsa*), fight with the help of clubs<sup>137</sup> (?) when they can catch hold of thieves; they can chase run-away slaves but cannot kill (the slaves) who have run away; they can chase thieves who have stolen shortly before and who may be made to pay back according to their guilt; they can shave the lads and slaves. Such as these can be done by the community of Tuhāṇaru and Kusambyan, after the favour of the auspicious Great King was brought to a fruition and permanently fixed. After that the community of Tuhāṇaru and the community of Kusambyan paid homage to

9 a. and eulogised the auspicious Great King, according to their ability. Further, the *parataṇḍas* of different affairs received fixed sums, as far as possible, each according to the usual custom. Again, the *paraxāmyes*

133 *Kambungan* = *Kambungan*?

134 It is unclear if this meaning should be accepted here.

135 *Cdang* = *gading*?

(i. e., the subjects) as were made head-officers of the neighbouring places received fixed sums according to the nature of the usual custom. After the completion of (these) gifts (?) fixed sums were also placed for offerings to *awaju*, *raweh*, *wadhati* and the *akudur*, and each (received) silver 1 mā and pieces of cloth. (Then) stood up the *wadhati* in the midst of the assembly and under the *turumbukan*.<sup>136</sup> Thereupon the Rev. Uttarasangga<sup>137</sup> binding the mouth and covering the front-part with a jacket confirmed the region,<sup>138</sup> according to the usual custom of marking off free regions in earlier times, (thus) striven after by the *anawajus* and the natives. The *akudur* came forward and separated the neck of the cock, smashed the egg.<sup>139</sup> came to the front in anger, cursed, swore and spoke out loudly (?)

b. oaths according to custom. His words were: Om! Be gracious, you all gods, Haricandana; the great seer Agastya, East, South, West, North, Zenith, Nether, Middle, Sun, Moon, Earth, Water, spirit, wind, ether, laws, day and night, the three<sup>140</sup> twilights, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *piśācas*, *pretas*, demons, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*, the Great Serpent, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, the son of Vāsava, the deities, the five *Kuṭīḥas*, Nandīśvara, Mahākālā, Gapeśa, the king of serpents, the goddess Durgā, the four *āśramas*, Ananta, the deities of Time and Death, also all beings (*bhūtagaṇa*), you who are known to protect the circle of the island of Java, you all witnesses who see far and near, by day and by night, you who are incarnate

136. Tani.

137. Cf. *OJO.*, No. XII, a. 7; *OJO.*, No. XLVIII, second face, 20. From these, *uttarasangga* appears to be a title. Cf. this passage with *OJO.*, XLVIII, second face, 20-21.

138. Or, 'stood upon the feet'.

139. The reason why the cock was killed and the egg was smashed is explicitly stated in *KO.*, I. I have translated this record for the forthcoming *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. I.

140. It should be two twilights. cf. *OJO.*, XLIII, second face, 27; *OJO.*, XLVIII, second face, 24, etc.

in all beings, hear<sup>141</sup> this swear, curse and oaths of mine to you, O all gods, as long as the man, great or small, of evil disposition (?), whether of the four *varṇas*, (viz.,) Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vai-

- 10 a. śya, Śūdra, or (lit. and also)<sup>142</sup> of the four āśramas, (viz.,) Brahmacāri, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha, Bhikṣuka, and pīṅghay, *awajuh, okarug, anak thāni*, having at their head the future kings and ministers, as long as he violates the independence of the free regions of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan, and hinders and repeatedly opposes (the effects of this edict), he may go to ruin, from now on to the remotest future. Above all, if the *sang hyang upala sima* (i.e., the sacred stone) is pulled off (by any one) and removed without its proper place to sit upon,—all of them (thus) making little of the independence of the free regions of Tuhañaru and Kusambyan, as the result of their deeds, may be killed by you, O gods, they may be killed by you! When such person goes away (or) passes alone in the field (*tgāl*), he may be bitten by poisonous snakes; in the forest he may step over (i.e., be entangled in) tree-roots, be attacked by tigers; in the water (he may be) bitten by the crocodile; in the sea (he may be) destroyed by ferocious fishes, (viz.,) *prangprang, timinggala* (\**gila*), *mahā-*
- b. *gila*, aquatic (?) snakes; when he descends he may be pinched by the sharp points of stones, rolled into the mountain chasm, confused by sleet (?); when he goes during the time of rain (he may be) struck by lightning; when he remains in the dwelling-place he may be scorched<sup>143</sup> by *vajrūgni* (i.e., the fire of *vajra*), without (finding time to) turn backwards; he may be

141 The spelling *dragū* is rather uncommon. Usually it is *reṅgū*, occasionally *deṅgū*.

142 The text has *athoca*, a better reading would be *athoū*.

143 Lit. 'met by, overthrown by'. The root is *fbā* meaning 'fall'.

pushed on the frontside, killed on the leftside, again on the rightside, his forehead may be smashed, his chest may be smashed, his belly may be ripped open, his entrails may be drawn out, his brains may be sipped up, his blood may be drunk up, his flesh may be eaten up, he may be kicked at length to die, he may be thrown into the *Mahāraurava*-hell and further suffer sorrows. (This is) the result of showing (?) evil propensities which were seen by the thirteen witnesses!""  
 Let that be so! Om! let that be accomplished ||O||



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**On two recent reconstructions of a Sanskrit Hymn transliterated with Chinese characters :** By Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Peiping.

Buddhist Sanskrit texts were not only translated into different languages in different lands outside India, such as Tibet and China, but some of them were also transliterated in their own characters. The transliterated works mostly contain sacred formulas called *mantras* in Sanskrit, *mnags* in Tibetan and *chou* in Chinese. The Tibetan and Chinese people believed just like the Indians, from whom they learnt Buddhism, that the sacred formulas were to be recited in their original forms, otherwise they would be useless. This is why the formulas were transliterated. So in China the Emperor Ch'ien Lung declared that while the canonical texts might be translated, the formulas had to be transliterated. Now the work of transliteration presented no difficulty to the Tibetans, for they possess a phonetic script, which was adopted from the Indians, but that was not the case with the Chinese people, as the phonetic value of the Chinese characters has not been the same in different provinces for many centuries past. In 1800 A.D. a Commission headed by an Imperial Prince was appointed for the revision of all the sacred formulas contained in the Chinese Buddhist canon and it succeeded fairly well whenever the counterparts of the formulas transliterated in Chinese characters were found transcribed in Tibetan script in the sacred books of Tibet.

Now there is a small work, *Lokeśvara stotra*, only in eight stanzas in the *Totake* metre. It was twice translated into Chinese—first under the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, and then under the Commission referred to above. The Commission declared that it did not find its counterpart in the Tibetan works. Hence the transliteration was most unsatisfactory.

Prof. Staël-Holstein, who is a well-known expert in such works, has, therefore, attempted in the present paper a new reconstruction of the text basing it on the former two with the help of the Tibetan translation, and we can safely say that he has greatly succeeded.

The original Sanskrit work which has not yet been found is by Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmī (Dge. Sloṇ. ma. Dpal. ma),—whose memory is still highly respected in Tibet. While the name of the Tibetan translator is not known, the Chinese translation is attributed to one Fa T'ien (Dharmadeva), an Indian Buddhist monk, who came to China in the 10th century from Nālandā.

It may be noted here that there is another *Lokēśvara stotra* by Caryādīpa in the Tanjur.

In his re-construction of the *stotra* Prof. Staël-Holstein has put first the Tibetan translation and when the two Chinese transliterations, the second of them being both in Chinese and Roman characters, and then he gives his own transliteration which clearly shows his great labour and erudition. He has added an English translation and notes full of various information. The Chinese transliterations are so defective that here and there a line or half a line could not be re-constructed, and in such cases even the Tibetan translation does not give any help. So it is evident that in these places the Tibetan translation itself could not strictly follow the original Sanskrit. Let us take one example: line 25, which, as finally settled by Prof. Staël-Holstein, according to the two old transliterations and the Tibetan translation, runs as follows:—*juṣṭaśyādīharaṃ bahusankhyakaram*. Here the reading *bahu* is clearly supported by the two transliterations, but not by the Tibetan translation, which reads *mchog* meaning the best (*vara*, *uttama*, etc.) and in no case, so far as I know, 'much' (or *bahu*) in Sanskrit. One thing may be noted here. Prof. Holstein rightly says that metrically the reading *śyādi* is here wrong, as the second syllable of the line must be short. Hence, he observes that the original version may have had the reading *roga* for *śyādhi*. It appears that the language of the *stotra* was influenced by

the Buddhist Sanskrit and so there was *vādhi* for *vyādhi*. This view is supported by some other words in the text. In line 31 there is *carakāira*, which on the same ground cannot be admitted and should be read as *kāira* in place of Sanskrit *kāira* 'milk'. So in line 32 for the same reason instead of *Śrī potalakādhi*, one should read *Śrī pota*. This view is further supported by line 29. Here Tib. (TF) *glan po drag* is in Sanskrit *matṭagoja* (strictly *gajamatta* in the order of the Tibetan words). Accordingly the transliteration to suit the metre should be *gajamatta* and not *gajamanda*, as suggested by Prof. Staël-Holstein. But strictly in Sanskrit the adjective must come before the noun in such cases, and one cannot write *gajamatta*. Yet according to both the transliterations the former is the actual reading; and, as such, it shows here the influence of the Buddhist Sanskrit. And I think to this is due *mekhalā* for *mekhalā* in line 21. Take also into consideration the construction of the whole line which according to the Tib. version (*gsar mchog aka rags nor buhi rgyan ldan*) may literally suggest in Sanskrit prose *hemavara* (or *carahemal mekhalāmanibhāsanavāntam*).

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

**On a Peking Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur:** By Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Peiping.

This is a pamphlet on a Peking edition of the Kanjur, one of the two great divisions of the Tibetan Buddhist canons, which seems to be unknown in the West. Only two printed Peking editions of the Kanjur are generally known to modern scholars, one being published in 1410 A.D. and the other in 1700 A.D. The complete set of the former is extremely rare. The Prussian State Library possesses only thirty-six volumes out of one hundred and six, which are to be found in the Yung Ho Kung lamasery of Peking. But a short document, reproduced in a plate by the author, which is found in several volumes of an edition of the Kanjur with him, clearly shows that in Peking there was another edition

of the work in 1692 A.D. According to the same document a Bhikṣu Dānasāgara (*Dge. Slong. Sbyin. pa. rgya mcho*) attached to a temple called Ch'ung Kuo Ssu, was responsible for that edition. Prof. Holstein thinks and substantiates his statement that for the two editions in 1692 and 1900 the same blocks were used after making necessary corrections.

In India we have a few sets (perhaps not more than five, excluding a few sets more in monasteries in Darjeeling and its neighbourhood) of the Tanjur and Kanjur, but all of them are of the Narthang edition. We are not yet fortunate enough to have an edition even of Derge (*Sde. dge*). It is to be hoped that the University of Calcutta, which has recently made arrangements for Tibetan and Chinese studies, will gradually remove the want of the different editions of these canonical works.

VITHALSUREKHARA BHATTACHARYA

**Nawaruci:** *Inleiding, Middel-Javaansche Prozaattekst*, Vertaling: By M. Prijohetomo; Groningen den Haag-Batavia, 1934: 237 pp.

This is an excellent thesis for doctorate of the University of Utrecht by the Javanese scholar Prijohetomo, who prepared his work under the distinguished guidance of Professors Gonda, Juynboll and others. The great importance of the Middle-Javanese text, so beautifully edited here along with a Dutch translation, was first emphasised by Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk in *JRAS.*, 1881 (pp. 53-54), and the manuscripts of *Nawaruci* used by the latter were described by Dr. J. Brandes. Juynboll later gave a short sketch of the contents of the prose redaction along with illuminating notes. The fourth scholar who paid attention to *Nawaruci* is Dr. R. Goris, who published various details about it in his *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie*.

The contents of the work are as follows:—

At the order of Droṇa, Bhīma leaves Gaṇḍhōya and goes in search of magic water. On the way he kills two nāgas, who transpired to have been the spirits Śarasambaddha and

Harṣanandī respectively and moreover he encounters Indra in disguise. Bhīma continues his journey, meets the sage Nawaruci and receives philosophical instruction from him. At length Bhīma reaches the source of magic water and gives the water to Droṇa. Under the same Angkuṣprāṇa, Bhīma practises austerities in Pṛthwījāti, in course of which he has to face various ordeals. Purified and strengthened by these austerities, Bhīma at last returns to Indraprastha and is joyously received by his brothers.

The author of the present work has moreover proved that *Nawaruci* owes much of its style and contents to the renowned *Arjuna-Vicūha*; and regarding the date he says that it was written between 1500 and 1619 A.D.

B. G.

**Midden-Oost Borneo Expeditie 1925.** *Uitgave van het Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen.*

This substantial volume of 423 pages contains the detailed report of the Middle-East Borneo expedition undertaken in 1925 by a band of Dutch scholars who explored some very imperfectly known parts of Borneo and gathered rich data of great importance for the geography, ethnology, archaeology, etc., of this island. The archaeological discoveries have been briefly dealt with by Dr. Bosch at the end of the volume in the chapter 'Oudheiden in Koeter'. The author at first describes the statues from Kombeng and divides them into two groups: (1) the Śaiva statues, such as Mahādeva, Gaṇeśa, Nandiivara, etc., and (2) the Buddhistic statues. The Śaiva statues have been built as a rule according to orthodox Hindu Javanese style. On the Buddhist side the stūpas bear the usual characteristics, where numerous variations of the forms may be observed among the images. The relation between the Śaiva and the Buddhist deities, however, remains obscure.

B. G.

**Indo-Tibetica**, Vol. III: By Giuseppe Tucci, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Rome, 1935, 219 pp. +91 tables.

Prof. Tucci is an indefatigable worker in Tibetan Buddhism. Previous to the publication of the present volume, he had published two volumes, the results of his first expedition to Tibet. In 1933 he had undertaken a second expedition and the results have been embodied in this elegantly printed volume.

The learned professor devotes himself in this book to the exposition of the artistic symbolism of the temples of Western Tibet. Some of the temples, which the author describes, had been written upon previously by other writers e.g., by Francke and Shuttleworth; but the symbolism and significance of their art treasures had not been so penetratingly guessed at by them. It is the temples of Spiti and Kunavar that the author takes into consideration in the present volume, particularly the ones to be found at Tabo, Lhalung, Chang and Nako. The description and discussion of gTaug lag K'an and its artistic representations occupy the largest space. The author describes the general aspect of the temple, external and internal, takes into consideration the statues which represent a Tāntric cycle of Vairocana, mentions the Tibetan sources of the cycle of Sarvavid Vairocana, presents us with an iconographical description of the thirty-six deities of Kun rig, discusses the Indian sources of the cycle of Kun rig and the *mandala* of Vairocana and draws out symbolical significance of this *mandala*. In describing the paintings in the temple of gSer K'an, the author discusses the methods and significance of the Tāntric invocation and the element of terror in the Tāntric School. In writing upon the temple at Lhalung the author corrects some of the identifications of Shuttleworth, while in treating the temples at Chang, he gives us an idea of the Tibetan infernal deities. The introduction contains interesting observations on the geography of western Tibet and traces the diffusion of the various sects over the region. The plates are all that could be desired in a book printed in the country of the highest artistic tradition.

The Royal Academy of Italy, which found the means for the Professor to undertake his scientific expeditions to Tibet and the cost of publication of the volumes, is to be congratulated for the interest it is showing in Indian culture and civilisation. Two Professors of Indology, Prof. Formichi and the writer of the present volume, are members of this august body and this is not only a distinction for the professors themselves but for the country whose culture they have made their fields of study. The Academy has published, besides the volumes by Prof. Tucci, a magnificent edition of the Mahābhārata translated in Ottava rime by the late-lamented Prof. Michele Kubakar. It was this Professor's translation of some Vedic ślokas that inspired the famous verses of Italy's great poet Carducci to Aurora. We hope that the interest shown by the Royal Academy of Italy in India will continue unabated and that further illuminating works on India will be published under its distinguished patronage.

P. N. ROY

**De Indische Cultuurstroom** (The Wave of Indian Culture), by Dr. A. J. Berner-Kempers, The Hague, 1934.

This pamphlet of twenty odd pages contains a lecture delivered by Dr. Kempers on assuming his office as a "Privaat docent" in the comparative culture-history of South-East Asia at the University of Leyden, Holland, on the 7th of March, 1934.

The original is in Dutch. The following abstract may prove useful to the English-knowing student.

South-East Asia stands here for India proper along with the frontier parts of Central Asia, Nepal, Tibet, Further India, Indian Archipelago and Ceylon. Modern researches have resulted in amplifying the data about the cultures of these countries as well as in discovering the unifying factors. While Indian history benefits largely by the study of the past civilization of the said countries, a knowledge of Indian culture is indispensable for a real understanding of the

latter. Such modern designations as East India, Further India, Indian Archipelago, Indo-China, Indonesia, Insulindia, Serindia, India Minor, etc., simply indicate that the cultures of those countries contain purely Indian elements; the language contains a number of Sanskrit words, the art shows affinities with that of India proper, the religion is either Buddhism or Sivaism, the literature deals with subjects from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, etc.

Regarding the spread of Indian culture, the author imagines the trade to be the first medium. Merchants sailed abroad from the eastern coast of South India to distant lands in the East. While transacting their business in selling Indian goods and bringing home foreign products, some of them settled there. In course of time they established matrimonial relations with the indigenous people, giving rise to what we may term the Indonesian race. This new generation naturally inherited traditions of both the lands, India proper and the native country. Meanwhile there were other factors at foot, popularizing Indian ideals far and wide in distant regions. Indian monarchs like Aśoka extended their conquests sometimes beyond the limits of present-day India and were thus responsible for the expansion of Indian culture. Aśoka was perhaps the first to send out missionaries for the propagation of Buddhism. In this way mission has been another factor in the same process. Later on, as during the Pāla period in Bengal, monks as well as other Hindus were impelled by the Muhammadan invaders to quit home. They took refuge in other countries and brought with them Indian customs to other peoples.

The author now inquires and himself answers. What is properly 'Indian culture'? There are certain characteristics in art, literature, religion and society common to all the countries concerned, that are indicated by the term 'Indian culture'. It does not in reality mean that it is something born of or belonging to the Indian soil, for there was a time when the very characteristics were a foreign import in India or at least in certain parts of India. There were among the natives like the Dravidians in India, and the new-comers

interchange, adoption, assimilation and modification of ideas and customs. Even when they were further dissipated, they underwent various changes. Still all along they have kept something akin all over that distinguishes the culture of the countries concerned from that of the rest of the world. It is this something that is, for the sake of convenience, entitled 'Indian Culture'.

At the end, the author contests the suitability of the term Greater India, adopted by recent writers to denote all the countries that came into cultural contact with India proper. His argument is that not *all* those countries at *all* times have been influenced *exclusively* by Indian civilization.

B. CH. CHHABRA



## MISCELLANY

*The Greater India Society* along with other learned institutions in and outside India has to mourn the loss which Oriental scholarship has sustained by the deaths of two eminent scholars—Gabriel Ferrand and Louis Finot. Obituary notices of these savants are published below.

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Thanks to the enlightened patronage of the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University and especially to Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the *Greater India Society* has at last been able to deposit its collection of books, periodicals, reports, etc., in one of the rooms of the Anantosh Buildings of the University. It is earnestly to be hoped that all serious students of the subject in Calcutta will now be tempted to utilise this important collection.

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*The Greater India Society* acknowledges with grateful thanks the receipt of a donation of Rs. 500/- made this year by the National Council of Education, Bengal, for meeting its publication expenses. The grateful acknowledgments of the Society are also due to its esteemed member Dr. Natendranath Law for his grant of a generous donation of Rs. 100/- for this year.

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During the last half year a fresh number of learned societies have signified their willingness to place the Journal of the Society or its publications or both on their exchange-lists. Among these special mention may be made of *Institut des Études Orientales de l'Académie des Sciences, USSR.*, Leningrad; *Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien*, Vienna; *Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut*, Amsterdam; *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Völkerkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 's-Gravenhage. To all these institutions the Society conveys its warmest thanks.

## OBITUARY NOTICE

### GABRIEL FERRAND

It is not an unusual sight to discover some first-rate scholars and technicians amongst the French group of administrators. Paul Claudel, the eminent poet, is an able ambassador of France and author of *La Connaissance de l'Est*. Paul Painlevé was a great mathematician. George Maspero, like his father Gaston Maspero, was an able officer and a zealous historian. So Gabriel Ferrand was a *Ministre Plénipotentiaire* in Persia before he won his fame as the leading authority on Oriental geography in France. When I reached Paris fifteen years ago, the illustrious Sinologist Edouard Chavannes was just dead, but his friend and colleague Professor Sylvain Lévi was carrying on the glorious tradition of French orientalism through a series of brilliant studies. It was in his home that I had the privilege of being introduced to Mon. Ferrand, already retired from diplomatic services and concentrating on his scientific studies. As a pupil of Prof. Lévi, I was warmly invited to the apartments of Mon. Ferrand on the Rue Racine where I was surprised to find this ex-minister of the Republic crowding his rooms with rare books and documents over which he ever looked affectionately and wistfully. For the World-War, as he said, interrupted the publication of so many scientific studies, periodicals, etc., and his manuscript pile was already heavy, crying for publication at an age when the nation could ill afford money for intellectual pursuits, faced as it was, with grim economic crisis and privations. I found that Mon. Ferrand was famous already as the author of *Relations de voyages et texte géographiques Arab Persans et Turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, published between 1913 and 1914. In 1918, Mon. George Cœdès opened a new chapter in Greater Indian Studies with his paper on the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (*Le royaume de Céri-*

*ujaya*, BEFEO., 1918). That forgotten chapter of Hindu-Javanese history soon engaged the attention of eminent orientalist like Prof. Krom, Dr. Vogel and Prof. Blagden. A veteran geographer that he was, Mon. Ferrand started soon a thorough documentation on the historical, geographical and other references to the kingdom of Śrīvijaya and published a splendid monograph: *L'Empire Sumatranais de Crivijaya* (JA., July-October, 1922). It brought in a handy volume all the pertinent texts in Chinese, Arabic, Persian, etc., as well as the inscriptions (with translations) in Malays, Tamil and Sanskrit, not forgetting the famous 10th century MS. of Nepal, mentioning "Suvāmapure Crivijayapure Lokanātha," the value of which was first pointed out by Prof. Alfred Foucher (vide *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900).

Mon. Ferrand was loved and admired by the world of Orientalists as he served very ably in the capacity of Honorary Secretary of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris which, over a century ago (1825), honoured Rājā Rāmmohun Roy, the first Indian savant, with the title of the Associate. We are also grateful to Mon. Ferrand for his valuable aid in procuring the rare books and periodicals on Indology that have found their place in the rich Library of our *Purodhā*, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's *Viveka Bharati* at Santi-Niketan.

KALIDAS NAG

### LOUIS FINOT

In the death of Mon. Louis Finot the world of French scholarship has lost a brilliant representative and the family of Indologists a most fruitful and loyal collaborator.

The thorough discipline of the *École des Chartres* of the University of Paris, combined with the initiation into Sanskrit at the hand of no less a master than Sylvain Lévi, made Finot a researcher of first-rate importance in the field of orientalism. The French Schools of Athens (1850), of

Rome (1875) and of Cairo have already made the name of French archaeologists respected all over the world. In 1867 Renan projected the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and he was followed by James Darmesteter with his exhaustive studies on the *Arasta* which was introduced into Europe about a century earlier (1771) by the Pioneer Orientalist Anquetil Duperron. During the last quarter of the 19th century when Louis Finot grew from his early college days into a mature scholar taking his Doctor's degree with a thesis on the Sanskrit text of *Ratnaparikṣā*, Finot watched his beloved professor Sylvain Lévi working with two masters of French Indology Abel Bergaigne and Auguste Barth editing the *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Champā and Cambodge* and Emil Senart publishing his *Inscriptions of Piyadasi*.

In 1898 the great French archaeologist Michel Bréal joined hands with Auguste Barth and Emil Senart in developing the project of a French School of the Far East after the models of the French Schools of Athens, Rome and Cairo. Originally Chandernagore was selected, but it could not materialise owing to the financial problems, which were solved by Paul Doumer, the Governor General of Indo-China, which thus came to possess that magnificent research-centre and library of Hanoi: *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*.

As the first Director of the *École*, Mon. Finot rendered services of the highest order. From the very first number of the now famous *Bulletin*, he had been contributing most valuable articles and studies. The Religion of Champā according to the monuments, Cambodian transcriptions, Indo-Chinese studies, Origin of Indian colonisation, Researches on Laotian literature; List of Khm̐r manuscripts, etc., are some of his contributions; while in the domain of Indo-Chinese epigraphy his able editing, transcriptions and translations will ever keep his name shining in that line of studies. I cherish with pride and gratitude his *Notes d'Épigraphie Indo-Chinoise* (1916) which he so kindly presented to me, when I had the privilege of enjoying the hospitality of this *École* in Hanoi, which I visited on my

return trip from China and Japan (1924). Not only his learned colleagues like Mon, Parmentier, Mon, Auroousseau, Mon, Demiéville and others, but he afforded me the greatest facilities in visiting the wonderful monuments of Hindu art in Champa and Cambodia: Nahrang and Phanrang, Angkor Thom, Angkor Vat and other historic sites.

When we had the honour of inaugurating the GREATER INDIA SOCIETY in 1926, Mon Finot wrote a highly sympathetic note in the *Bulletin* (vide XXVII, pp. 504-7) and we got his help and encouragement whenever we approached him. This policy of collaboration has been continued by Mon. George Cœdès, the learned successor to Mon. Finot as the Director of the *École*. When a member of our Academic Council, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of the Dacca University visited the *École* in Hanoi, he was warmly received and his volume on the *Ancient Indian Colonies of the Far East, Champā, Vol. I*, was reviewed and his learned article on the *Palaeography of the Inscriptions of Champā* was welcomed in the *Bulletin*.

A veteran Sanskrit as he was, Mon Finot was a great lover of the Buddha and Buddhism. He translated many Buddhist texts and often contributed articles on Indo-Chinese History and on Buddhism to the pages of Indian Journals like the *Indian Historical Quarterly* edited by our esteemed colleague Dr. N. N. Law.

One of his recent articles was published in the latest issue of the *Bulletin* on the former Governor-General of Indo-China, Paul Doumer, who was assassinated as the President of the Republic (May, 1932). It was M. Doumer who by his Statute of 15th December, 1898, brought the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* into existence and the tribute of gratitude from its first Director M. Finot was very appropriate.

As he was a facile writer in English, M. Finot wrote highly thoughtful and suggestive reviews of current literature on Indology published by Indian and non-Indian writers. Courteous by nature as he was, his courtesy never got the

better of his critical spirit, and his co-workers in the field ever profited by his frank and creative criticisms.

M. Finot was a sincere well-wisher and an inspiring friend of the GREATER INDIA SOCIETY and we hope and pray that his soul would rest in peace. He lived a life which we can adequately describe only in his own words, which he applied to the late M. Emil Senart in his obituary notice : "Une grande âme consacré sans réserve au service du vrai et du bien."

KALIDAS NAG



## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

*Journal Asiatique*, t. CXXXIV, No. 4.

- E. Benveniste—*Notes sur un fragment sogdien*: Of the three principal Sogdian Buddhist fragments published by M. Reichelt in his *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums* one has been identified by him as a fragment of *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśasūtra*, while the other two are provisionally called by him the *Dhūta* text and the *Dhyāna* text. The last has been recognised by S. Matsunami as a fragment of a Chinese *sūtra* bearing the title equivalent to *Buddhadhyānasamādhisāgara*. The writer gives a tr. of the Chinese text with notes, notes on the Sogdian text, an appendix upon the *Dhūta* text, a second appendix containing notes of interpretation or etymology of the other text and an index of Sogdian words.

*Ibid.*, t. CXXXV, No. 1.

- L. Finot—*Manuscripts Sanskrits de Sādhana's retrouvés en Chine*: Text and tr. of several Sanskrit MSS. of which the originals are deposited in the Buddhist monastery of Cho-Kiang, along with introduction and index. The MSS. consist of two parts, of which the first part is the *Hecavajrasekhoprakriyā* written by an unknown author, while the second consists of seven small manuals of the Tāntric liturgy, viz., (1) the *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyi, (2) the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* by Śāśvatavajra, (3) the *Mantrapāṭha*, (4) the *Haṣṭapūjāvidhi* by Śāśvatavajra, (5) the *Caṅkrasamvarabhidhi* by the same and (6) the *Vajravārāṇhisādhana* of Advayavajra. Of these Nos. 2, 4 and 6 have been edited by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in the *Sādhanamālā*.

*ibid.*, t. CCXXV, No. 2.

- A. H. Krappe—*Charybde et Scylla aux Indes et en Océanie*: Traces the travel of the celebrated episode of the Odyssey in India, Siam, Fiji and Samoa.

**ZDMG.**, Band 13, Heft 2.

- Otto Schrader—*Indische Beziehungen eines nordischen Fundes* (with two plates): The National Museum of Copenhagen contains a great silver bowl (69 cm. broad and 42 cm. high), which was discovered in Northern Jutland in 1891. Two reliefs of this bowl, according to the writer, bear relation to Indian art. They are (1) a Celtic goddess with elephants, with whom may be compared the Indian *Gajalakṣmī* and (2) the Celtic horned god *Cernunnos* having his parallel with the horned god of Mohenjodaro seal described by Sir John Marshall in his well-known monograph.
- A. Ziesenis—*Eine Vorstufe des Śaivaiddhānta in der alt-javanischen religiösen Literatur*: An Old-Javanese religious work called the *Wyhaspatitattwa*, probably written after the 10th century A.D., contains an older form of the *Śaivaiddhānta* and belongs to the literature of the *Āgamas*, which are the sources of the *Śaivaiddhānta*. This is sought to be proved by a comparison of parallel concepts in the Javanese and Sanskrit works.

U. N. G.

*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*,

Deel LXXV—Afdeling I (1935).

- J. Gonda—*The Javanese version of the Bhagavadgītā*: As is well-known, there is an Old-Javanese version of the *Mahābhārata*, which is of primary importance for the history of this great epic. "At present we possess the texts of the first, fourth and sixth books of the great epos and a number of manuscripts of some other books. These works date from about the year 1000 of our era.

They are not a complete translation.....The Japanese author has taken from his copy of the Sanskrit text at various intervals a śloka or a part of a śloka." As for the Bhagavadgītā, "the author has given prose parts of the subject-matter, which he considered as the most important." It is very important to note that many portions of the Bhagavadgītā, generally considered to be interpolated by Garbe and others, have their counterparts in the Javanese version.

B. K. G.

*Indian Culture*, April, 1935.

- L. Finot—*Notes on the Sinhalese tradition relating to Buddha's relics*:

*Ibid.*, July 1935.

- A. B. Keith—*Plotinus and Indian Thought*: Criticism of Dr. Przyluski's article in *JGIS.*, Vol. I, No. 1.  
H. B. Sarkar—*The Old-Javanese Lexicon*: Contains a list of Old-Javanese words with tr. and references as a supplement to the lexicon of Drs. van der Tuuk and Juynboll.

*Djawa*, 15 Jaargang, Nos. 1 to 3, June 1935.

- R. Goris—*Het Godsdienstig Karakter der Balische Dorpsgemeenschap*: The author discusses in this interesting article various Hindu aspects of the religious practices prevailing in the countryside of Bali. The gods as well as the devils are divided into a heavenly and an earthly group respectively.  
W. van Os—*De Hindoe-Indonesische Kunst en het "Illusionsme"*: "Illusionism" in art had its origin in Greece about 500 B.C. and it goes hand in hand with the 'emancipated' architecture. In fact it signifies the

triumph of the individual over tradition." The author of the present article has tried to explain and interpret many common motifs in the Hindu-Javanese art from this point of view.

- W. F. Stutterheim—*Een Oud-Javaansche Bhima-cultus*: In this article the author discusses various aspects of Old-Javanese Bhima-cult and the various ways in which the deity concerned was represented in sculpture.

*Orientalische Zeitschrift*, N.F., 10 Jahrg. 6 heft, 1934.

- A. C. Eastman—*The Buddha's Victory over the Serpent, A Gandhāran version in the Brooklyn Museum*: The legend of the Buddha's triumph over the serpent in the first temple at Uruvilvā, though one of the oldest legends in the Buddhist canonical literature, appears but seven times in art, including the three Gandhāran versions of the same. "Of special interest, therefore, is the Brooklyn stone, which besides making the number of stones seven (the fourth Gandhāran version) of this subject, has a special claim to attention in the flames completely surrounding the Buddha."

B. K. G.

*Soedjanga Baroe*, Vol. II. Nos. 1 & 2.

- The leading article of No. 1, written in Malay, describes in a popular way some *wayang* characteristics after briefly tracing the progress of researches in the domain of Indonesian languages.

In the *mededeeling* No. XXXVI, *afdeeling volkenkunde* no. 7 of the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE at Amsterdam, Dr. van Naerssen has published in *Bijlage A* two Old-Javanese inscriptions belonging to the time of Balitung. It has been stated that the proceeds to the god of the cloister at Hujung galuh and those of the other three places shall go to the god of the cloister at Dalinan. More interesting is the reference to the *Rāmāyana*, Bhimakumāra and Kicaka in Pl. II, and these suggest

that the Rāma-saga and some figures of the *Mahābhārata* were known in Java in the first decade of the tenth century A.D. That the *wayang* was also represented in social functions of this period is also proved by Pl. II.

H. B. S.

*Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkerkunde*,  
Deel LXXIV, Aft. 3 and 4, 1934.

- W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*De Leidse Bhairava en Tjandi B van Singasari* (pp. 441-476).—The writer controverts the statements of previous authorities and concludes that the Bhairava statue under discussion originally belonged to the Chandi B, and not to Chandi A, of Singasari.
- A. STEINMANN.—*De op de Boroboedoor afgebeelde planten-werld* (pp. 561-612). A profusely illustrated paper offering botanical identification of the various vegetation depicted on the Barabudur *Stūpa* sculptures.
- S. R. BALASUBRAHMAN.—*The Tisai Ayirattairūppuvar and the Maricahndai Record (A Great Tamil Merchant Guild of Southern India)* (pp. 613-618).—Several records of South India from A.D. 1033 onwards make mention of the said Guild and its activities. One of the records comes from Sumatra.

B.C.

*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, t. XXXIII, 1933.

- P. VAN STEIN CALLENFELS.—*Le mariage de Draupadi*, (pp. 1-9).—Two different opinions prevail about the identification of bas-relief B. 214 on Ankor Vat, viz., that it represents the *svayamvara* of Sitā (Cœdès and Przyluski) and that it stands for the *svayamvara* of Draupadi (Finot). Consideration of Javanese and Malay redactions of Draupadi's *svayamvara* makes it clear that the last view is correct.

- G. CEDES.—*Añkor Vat, temple ou tombeau?* (pp. 303-9) Disputes M. Przyluski's theory that Añkor Vat was originally not a temple but a tomb. Suggests, in conclusion, that Dr. Bosch's expression 'funerary temple' might obtain M. Przyluski's approval.
- V. GLOUBEW.—*Le Phnom Bakhèñ et la ville de Yaśovarman*—(pp. 319-44)—Report of an archaeological mission to Añkor (August-November 1932). Results of the archaeological exploration confirm the hypothesis framed by the author in 1931 that the Phnom Bakhèñ represents the Central Mount of Yaśodharapura, the city built by Yaśovarman towards the close or the ninth century.
- P. MUS.—*Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa*, (pp. 367-410)—Preface—Pre-Aryan India and Asia of the monsoons—Vedic religion and Brahmanism—The Hindu synthesis—The actual forms of the Cham cults—the *kut* and the *liñg*—survival and profundity of Indian influence in Champa. The author's conclusion is that the Indian civilizers brought their Cham pupils a much more beautiful and a much more elaborate expression of their common sentiments.

U.N.C.

*Journal Asiatique*, t. CCXXIV, No. 2 Avril-Juin 1934.

- J. FILIZOT.—*La Médecine Indienne et l'expansion bouddhique en Extrême Orient*—Points out how Indian medicine and Buddhism have been diffused across Asia and have spread abroad the prestige of Indian civilisation.

U.N.C.

*Indian Culture*, July 1934.

- R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Indo-Javanese Literature*—Contains survey of principal works belonging to the first two divisions of this literature, *viz.*, Old-Japanese and Middle-Javanese, the last division (*viz.*, New-Javanese) being left out as it really falls outside the Hindu period in Java.

ibid., October 1934.

NIHAR RANJAN RAY.—*Mahāyānist and Tantric Literature in Burma*—Inscriptions from Pagan dated 804 B.E.=1442 A.D. mention 295 texts as the object of gift to a monastery. Among these three are identified as definitely *Tāntric* and at least four are traced to *Mahāyānist Sanskrit Literature*.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.—*Siva-Buddha in Old-Javanese records*: The terms *Śiva-sagata* and *Sagata-Mahesvara* in two Javanese inscriptions have been translated as *Sivaites* and *Buddhists*. The correct translation is *Śiva-sagata*. Evidence of *Siva-Buddha* cults in Java is given by way of corroboration.

U.N.G.



## BOOKS RECEIVED

THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, periodicals, reports, pamphlets, etc., during the last six months:—

1. *De Indische Cultuurstroom*: By A. J. Bernet Kempers, Leiden 1934.
2. *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art*: By A. J. Bernet Kempers, Leiden 1933.
3. *On a Tibetan text translated into Sanskrit under Ch'ien Kung and into Chinese under Tao Kuang*: By Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Peiping 1932.
4. *A Commentary to the Kāśyapapuricārta*: By Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Peiping 1934.
5. *On two recent reconstructions of a Sanskrit hymn*: By Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Peiping 1934.
6. *On a Peking edition of the Tibetan Kanjur*: By Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Peiping 1935.
7. *Annual Report for 1934 of the Division of Intercourse and Education (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)*: By Nicholas Murray Butler, New York 1935.
8. *Indo-Tibetica III, Part I, Spiti and Kinnaur*: By Giuseppe Tucci, Rome 1935.
9. *Indian Culture*, April and July, 1935, Calcutta.
10. *Hayagriva (The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan)*: By R. H. van Gulik, Leiden 1935.
11. *Nawaruci (Inleiding Middel-Javaansche Proza-tekst)*: By M. Prijohetomo, The Hague 1934.
12. *Midden-Oost Borneo Expeditie 1925 (Uitgave van het Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen)*: Weltevreden.
13. *Sculptures Indiennes et Indochinoises de la Collection von der Heydt*: By Pierre Dupont, Amsterdam.
14. *Poedjangga Baroe*, Vol. II, Nos. 1 & 2, Batavia.

15. *The India that is India*: By Elizabeth Sharpe, London 1934.
16. *Book of Rām (Bible of India)*: By Mahātmā Tulsidās, London 1932.
17. *Teachings from the Bhagavadgītā*: By Hari Prasād Shāstri, London 1935.
18. *A New Approach to the Vedas*: By A. K. Coomāraswāmy, London 1933.
19. *Some Aspects of Hindu Medical Treatment*: By Dorothea Chaplain, London 1930.
20. *Djāwā*, Vols. I, No. 3; II; III; IV, No. 4; V, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6; VI, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6; VII, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6; VIII, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6; IX, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; X; XI; XII; XIII; XIV; XV, Nos. 1 to 3; Batavia.
21. Two copies of reprints of 'Boekbespreking' from *Djāwā*, XV, Nos. June, 1935.
22. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, Nos. 1, 2; Calcutta.
23. *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, N.F., 10 Jahrg., 11 Jahrg., 1/2 heft, Berlin.
24. *The Buddha Prabhā*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Bombay.
25. Eleven volumes of *Sun Yat Sen University Bulletin of Institute of History and Language (in Chinese)*, Canton.
26. *The Indian*, Vol. II, No. 3, London.
27. *The Students' Welfare*, Vol. I, No. 2, Agra.
28. Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen *Jaarboek* II, 1934, Batavia.
29. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*: Deel LXXV, Afl. 1, 2 and 3, Batavia.
30. *A Much-Needed Prayer*: By Nicholas Murray Butler, New York 1935.
31. *The Javanese version of the Bhagavadgītā*: By J. Gonda, Batavia 1935.
32. *The Rg-Veda as Land-Nāma Book*: By A. K. Coomāraswāmy, London 1935.

33. *Varendra Research Society's Monographs*, No. 6, March, 1935, Rajshahi.
34. *Gida in Het Volkerkundig Museum, Koninklijk Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut; XIII—De Indianen en Bochnegers van Suriname: door B. M. Goslings*, Amsterdam.
35. *Aanwinsten op Ethnografisch en Anthropologisch gebied van de afdeeling Volkenkunde van het Koloniaal Instituut, 1931; 1932; 1933; and 1934.* Amsterdam.



## JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

### SELECT OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS

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